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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF

COLONIAL HISTORY

FOR USE IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

By EMMA SAREPTA YULE

U. C. EXTENSION

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No wealth, no work.
Will Dr. Murgrave please
accept this bit of work
with the author's regard
and gratitude.

PREFACE.

In the preparation of this text, the primary aims have been to show that a colony is one stage in the evolution of civilization and self-government; to show, by a brief sketch, the part taken in colonization by the nations of antiquity and by the municipalities of medieval times; to give a more comprehensive account of the work in colonization of the modern nations; to point out very briefly the principal steps in the development of the accepted colonial policy of to-day; to explain what this policy is; and to show that it is the result of the progress of civilization.

All that is deemed necessary and that is within the grasp of high-school pupils on the preliminary and fundamental work on colonies and colonial government before studying the history and development of colonization, is given in the first five chapters.

As the subject of Colonial History in the high-school course follows General History, United States History, and Civics, no more of the subject matter presented in those studies has been given than was considered essential to give continuity to the special subject of Colonial History.

Chapters XVI and XVII are to be regarded as suggestive, as the topics considered are rather more "topics of the times" than history.

The "present possessions" of the modern nations are placed at the close of the chapters for convenient reference during the study of the chapters. The government of the minor colonies is given for reference. It is not expected that the pupils will study these details of control of the lesser possessions except in some cases for comparison. In addition to the maps given, such maps as are found in histories, and better still large wall maps, will be found helpful,

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as such aids are quite as necessary in the study of Colonial History as in any other phase of the subject.

No claim is made for deep research or originality in this little text, and little for independence of thought; but, if the material here offered leads to clearer and more definite results in the study of colonization in the secondary schools, it will have served its purpose.

E. S. Y.

MANILA, P. I., *October, 1911.*

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The following books are suggested as helpful for reference or for additional work in using this text:

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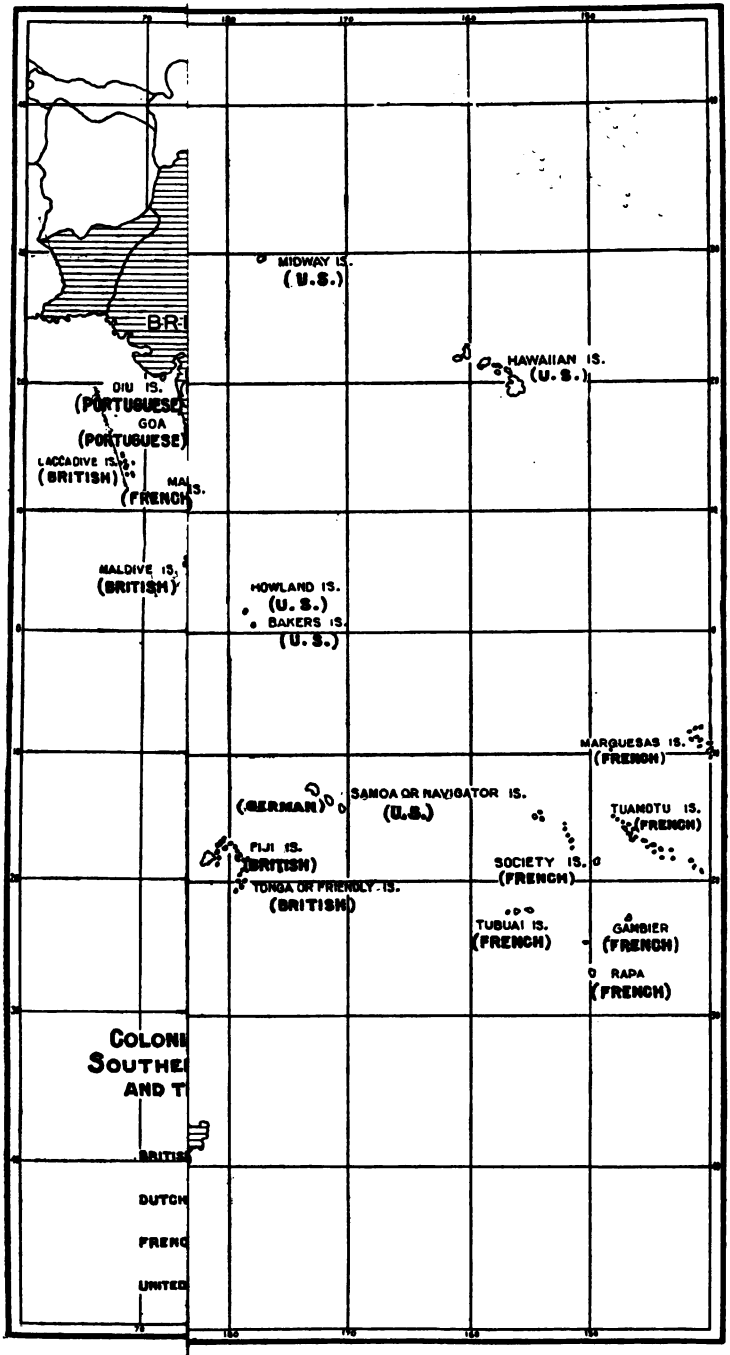
FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF COLONIZATION.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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

All the regions of the earth inhabited to-day by civilized peoples have been at some time, or are now, colonies. History tells a continued story of the movement of races and nations. Egypt, Assyria, Chaldea, Persia, Phœnicia, sent out their colonies, and when the full story of past history is told, we shall undoubtedly find that each one of these nations was, at one time, a colony. Later, Greece, a country settled by foreign peoples, sent out colonies to the isles and shores of the Mediterranean. Rome, originally a colony, built up a world empire by her colonization policy.

Then came the middle ages when the Teuton, hardy and strong in body and vigorous in mind, came in contact with, and absorbed much of, the civilization and culture of the nations of antiquity, particularly of Greece and Rome. There was not only an absorbing of civilization, but also a fusion of race and of language, in those regions where the old nations had had colonies. So there was in the period, when the Teuton race was preparing for its work as a builder of nations, a marked effect of the colonizing efforts of the nations of antiquity.

The nations of modern Europe, the result of this fusion of crude vigor and of culture, are the great colonizing powers of to-day; but each was made possible by the colonization of the older nations. These European nations, in turn, are carrying their civilization, with all the improved comforts of living and ideas of law and government, to the uttermost corners of the earth, to those who "dwell in darkness." These nations are also completing the cycle of history and are bringing the accumulations of the progress of two thousand years to the old countries of the Orient; countries

that had reached a state of high civilization—though it had long lain dormant—while the Teutons were still savages in Europe. Thus we see that the familiar sayings, "History repeats itself," and "Westward the course of empire takes its way," but tell in brief the tale of the settling, the civilizing, the colonizing of the whole earth.

In modern times there have been two great eras of remarkable interest in colonization. The first followed the discovery of the Western Hemisphere, the second began in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. History does not record any event more wide reaching in its results than the finding of the American continents. This discovery excited in the people of Europe a greater spirit of adventure and the desire for the knowledge that comes only from travel in strange lands; aroused a national rivalry for possessions in the newly found regions and a greed for personal gain. As a result, exploring expeditions, soon to be followed by colonies, were sent out. Thus the European nations which had, at one time, been the colonies of Rome, Greece, and to some extent of the earlier nations, entered upon their wonderful colonizing career. What these nations have done, their methods and the results, form the subject matter of modern colonial history.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the struggle for power among the nations of Europe so absorbed their energies that foreign conquest and settlement apparently claimed attention only as a source of revenue and as a part of the game for national strength at home. On the other hand, it was recognized that national strength depends to some extent upon foreign commerce and foreign possessions; so in modern times the history of Europe and that of the East and West form a closely-woven fabric.

The treaty of Utrecht is memorable in English history, not for what it settled in Europe, but for the added strength which its terms gave to England's foreign dominions. Why did England aid Frederick in the Seven Years' War? The cession of foreign possessions in America at the close of the war answers the question.[1] That Napoleon's conquest of

[1] J. R. Seeley: "The Expansion of England."

Europe was to be only the first step in his dream of a world empire is clearly revealed in the story of his twenty years of power.

Leading colonizing nations, as England, showed in the first part of the nineteenth century a decided opposition to the holding of colonies. British statesmen expressed themselves as being of the opinion that the independence of the colonies of Australia and Canada would be to the advantage of England, and as late as 1865 it was recommended by a parliamentary committee that it was not advisable to extend British control in West Africa.

With the establishment of national strength in Europe and the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century and the development of commerce, came a second stirring of interest in colonies. England suddenly, as it were, became aware of the value of her foreign possessions. Other nations as suddenly realized the great advantage which England had from her colonies and entered the field of acquisition of foreign territory with vigor. So the twentieth century promises to be a struggle for existence in the field of commerce and industry, a struggle for world power. Such questions as the boundary between France and Germany, the Balkan States, "The sick man of the East," the absorption of the lesser nations by the stronger ones, no longer form the questions of international diplomacy. Instead, the commercial and industrial concessions in the Orient and Africa, and to some extent South America are the topics considered. This is the second and present era of modern colonial history.

The importance of colonial development and government is emphasized by the fact that to-day the colonies, one hundred and forty in number—that is, territorial possessions not contiguous to the country by whose government they are controlled—occupy two-fifths of the land surface of the world and contain one-third of the world's population or about five hundred million people.[2]

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[2] "Colonial Administration" (1903).

CHAPTER II.

KINDS OF COLONIES—MOTIVES FOR COLONIZATION.

MEANING OF "COLONY."—The word "colony" has not the same meaning to-day that it had a few hundred years ago. As the motives and policies of colonization have changed, the meaning of the word has changed. The term "colony" derived from the Latin, *colonia,* means, as first used by the Romans, a body of people who settled in a new region under the control of Rome for the purpose of tilling the soil. The word the Greeks used for their colonies carried the meaning only of a colony being a settlement away from home.

At no time has the word ever meant the migration or movement of a whole people, but rather part of the population who in bodies left the mother country to live elsewhere. To-day the word "colony" is used to mean, "An outlying possession of a national state, the administration of which is carried on under a system distinct from, but subordinate to, the government of the national territory. The colony may be settled by citizens of the mother country and their descendants, or it may be peopled principally by another race; but in every case the government of the colony must acknowledge some form of allegiance to the mother country."[1]

KINDS OF COLONIES.—With this definition as a basis, Reinsch makes the following classification of colonies:

1. Settlement colonies.
2. Exploitation or investment colonies:
   - (*a*) Commercial.
   - (*b*) Agricultural.
   - (*c*) Industrial.

Settlement Colonies are those in which emigrants from the mother country settle in a region for the purpose of tilling the soil or engaging in other productive industries. They

[1] Paul S. Reinsch: "Colonial Government."

make for themselves permanent homes. Usually the original inhabitants of these regions are driven out or are partially civilized through the efforts of the colonizers. Australia, the original Thirteen Colonies of America, and the Cape of Good Hope are settlement colonies.

An Exploitation Colony is one in which the natural resources of a region are developed and cultivated and utilized with the object of material gain for the mother country, the colonists, the natives of the region, and the world in general. Almost all of the colonies of the Orient and Africa are exploitation colonies.

A Commercial Exploitation Colony is one which is utilized principally for commercial purposes. Hongkong, since its first cession to England, has been of importance because of its geographical situation which makes it valuable as a seaport, a commercial center.

An Agricultural Exploitation Colony is one in which large tracts of land, usually called plantations, are held and cultivated by proprietors from the mother country. The labor on these plantations is done for the most part by the natives of the colony. This class of colonies is found in the larger islands of the tropics and in parts of Africa.

An Industrial Exploitation Colony is one in which managers and men with technical training from the mother country invest capital in the establishment of manufactories, in the construction of means of transportation, in the improvement of the agricultural conditions, and in the development and utilization of the natural resources, as forests, mines, and fisheries. At the present time, this class of exploitation colonies is receiving much attention. They are established usually in regions where the soil is already under cultivation and the native population is agricultural, but where the methods employed are not scientific or economic. Such a region receives practical benefit, and the total wealth of the world is increased by the investment of capital from the colonizing powers and by the introduction of scientific industrial methods.

No exploitation colony can be said to be wholly in any one of the three subclasses. A colony may have commercial value because of its situation; its agriculture may

be carried on to some extent under conditions similar to those of an agricultural colony; while the methods used in its industrial development and in the conservation of its natural resources are those characteristic of an industrial colony. Such a colony could not be placed in any one of the subdivisions of exploitation colonies.

The map of the world shows that the exploitation colonies lie almost wholly in the tropics or subtropics. The effect of climate in the development of the human race explains this. Temperate regions produce energetic, progressive people who push out and settle undeveloped regions where geographical conditions are similar to those of their homeland. On the other hand, the enervating tropical climate produces a people of quite opposite industrial characteristics. So the tropics present a natural field for exploitation by temperate zone nations. An old stagnant civilization, such as exists in India, offers a similar field.

Minor Classes of Colonies.—Colonies of minor importance are held by colonial powers from other motives than either settlement or exploitation. Many colonies are held for purely *strategic* and *military* purposes, as Gibraltar. Others have only *strategic* value. Aden has a strategic value to England. It is said that William H. Seward's motive for urging the purchase of Alaska by the United States was not so much the great material wealth of the region as its value strategically when the struggle for supremacy on the Pacific Ocean should come. A third class of colonies is maintained often at heavy expense for *protection* and *aid in commercial communication.* England has many such colonies. Every route from England to India is protected by these communication colonies; Aden has this value as well as strategic value. The islands of Guam, Wake, and Midway have such a value to the United States. It would be unwise to have territorial possessions so far from the home country as the Philippine Islands are from the United States and provide for no coaling stations and harbors for protection to commerce in time of peace. These islands have strategic value also. Nations sometimes desire colonies for no other motive than the *political power* and *prestige* which such possessions give. Italy's colonies at

the present time are to a great extent an example of this. It might be said with truth that desire for political power is an impelling motive in all colonial expansion.

No single motive, however, explains any one colonial possession. In addition to being an important commercial colony, Hongkong gives to England political power and has strategic value. The rocky island of Wake has its indirect strategic value and by being in the Pacific Ocean train of connection between the United States and the Philippine Islands, adds indirectly to the political prestige which these island possessions give to the United States.

It must also be borne in mind that all colonies are not held for purely selfish motives. The higher idea of the *duty* of strong and powerful nations to aid and protect the weak often enters into the motives for retaining colonies.

Territory is often held for *sentimental* reasons, even though it is valueless from any other standpoint. There is a feeling against giving up what has once been owned. Any people dislikes to haul down the flag denoting possession when once it has been raised.

WHY PEOPLE EMIGRATE.—The establishment of colonies does not rest wholly on the motives or power of nations. That has been shown by the failure of nations to arbitrarily settle their own colonies with their own people. Germany's futile efforts to-day to turn the tide of her emigrants toward her new possessions illustrate this. The causes which impel movements of population must lie within the people themselves and they must be powerful enough to break the strongest ties which bind human beings; those of custom, tradition, family, home, country. Here again, as in the motives for holding colonies, there is no single motive, but a combination. The underlying motive is *the desire of man to better his condition.* He may wish to secure better returns for his labor, to live in a better environment, to seek a place of better opportunity in many ways. It matters little what particular phase of betterment may be sought; the motive drives countless emigrants from old countries to new lands.

Conditions in the Mother Country usually cause the discontent

which leads men to seek new homes. (1) *Religious persecution* in Europe in the seventeenth century sent many emigrants to America. At the present time, the persecution of the Jews in Russia is driving thousands out of that country every year to make new homes elsewhere. (2) *Political conditions* may cause dissatisfaction. The political freedom of the United States and Australasia has brought thousands of emigrants to these countries. (3) *The social condition,* the rule of class, in the countries of Europe, sends many emigrants from its shores to the colonies where the lowest may rise to be the equal of the highest. (4) *Industrial conditions* in the homeland may cause dissatisfaction. This may be caused by special changes due to industrial development, as in Europe when large areas of tillable soil were withdrawn from cultivation and were used for pasturage for sheep in order that the wool market might be supplied. Industrial conditions in Ireland coupled with political dissatisfaction have sent thousands of Irish emigrants to all the colonies in the temperate zones. The same is true in Finland. Hard industrial conditions in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland have caused great numbers of fine industrious citizens to seek new lands where conditions of life are easier and returns much greater.

Extraordinary Causes and Inducements.—Special inducements are often used to secure colonists. In the Quebec colonies, France gave charters on the condition that a certain number of colonists should be secured. In what is now Oregon, the United States at one time gave three hundred and twenty acres of land to each actual settler as an inducement to settle in this region. Canada, at the present time, is making most liberal offers to settlers in the northwest territory. In the past century the discovery of gold in Australia, Africa, and Alaska caused remarkable movements of population. Force has been used in a few cases to secure settlers, as in the penal colonies of Australia and Siberia. Such colonists have been sent by other nations to less noted penal colonies. A restlessness, roving disposition, or love of adventure, causes many to seek new lands, but this number is relatively small.

CHAPTER III.

ORGANIZATIONS THAT PROMOTE COLONIZATION.[1]

THE CHARTERED COMPANIES.

The most widely recognized organization used in promoting colonization is the chartered company. Chartered companies were used in the first period of modern colonization and are used to-day as a factor of importance in territorial expansion.

THE FIRST PERIOD.—During the first period of modern colonization most of the colonizing powers of Europe sent out chartered companies. Those of greatest historic importance are the British East India Company, the Dutch East India Company, the French East India Company, and the Hudson Bay Company. Of these companies, the British and Dutch were the ones that exercised the greatest influence.

Powers.—The charters of all these companies gave exclusive monopoly in commercial privileges, also in governing power in the regions where they operated. Conditions at the time made these powers necessary. Distance from the home government and lack of means of communication made it impossible for the mother country to exercise any direct control over the companies and their transactions. So they were, by their charters, given the right of control in their designated territory and were held responsible for its defense. In reality, this was creating a governing power within a governing power. The period of great activity of these companies was in the seventeenth century. As conditions changed, their power was gradually reduced and they passed more and more under the direct control of the home government until at last they gave up all political power.

[1] This Chapter is based on Reinsch's "Colonial Government."

Work.—England's claim to the greater part of Canada and her first hold in India was through the chartered company. The flag of France was raised in India by a similar company. The Dutch became the great colonizing power of the Orient in the eighteenth century through the Dutch East India Company. These companies were organizations demanded by the times to carry on the work of opening up the new lands and bringing the products of the old to the markets of Europe. When the day for their absolute power was over, they ceased to exist.

THE SECOND PERIOD.—The last of these old chartered companies had only passed out of existence when the European nations again became keen in their rivalry for the advantages resulting from colonial possessions. As in the first period of colonization, so in the second, chartered companies are a valuable means of securing territory and adding to national power. The most prominent companies in this period are the British North Borneo Company, the Royal Niger Company, the Imperial British East Africa Company, the British South Africa Chartered Company, the German New Guinea Company, the German East African Company, the Portuguese Mozambique Company, and the International Kongo Association. With the exception of the two last named all these companies were organized in the decade between 1880 and 1890. The Portuguese Company received its charter in 1894. The International Kongo Association was organized in 1879. England and Germany are the two countries making the greatest use of the chartered companies. As is indicated by the names of the new companies, the principal scenes of their operations are in Africa, and the undeveloped, unutilized lands of Borneo and New Guinea.

Powers.—"While the charters granted to the British companies differ somewhat in detail, they contain in general the same leading principles of organization. The charters provide that the companies must preserve their British nationality, although they are permitted to fly their own special flags. They are granted the power to make all

ordinances necessary for the establishment and maintenance of law and order, to levy such taxes as may be required to meet the governmental expenses, to employ a police force, and to appoint all civil and judicial officers necessary for the administration of government. With respect to the supervision exercised by the home government, it is provided that the companies can not transfer any of their concessions without the consent of the Government; that the latter is the arbiter between the native rulers and the companies; that it controls their foreign affairs and their policies concerning the natives; and that the appointment of the governor must be approved by the Colonial Office. The charters also lay some general restrictions upon the governmental powers of the companies. Commerce must remain free, except for such customs duties as may be necessary to cover the actual expense of administration. The companies are enjoined to abolish slavery within their territories, but to respect in general such native laws and customs as are not contrary to humanity. The religious observances of the natives are not to be interfered with by the authorities, although missionaries are to be allowed to carry on their work."[2] In the main, these are the powers delegated to the chartered companies of the other nations.

Value.—The value, as a colonizing agency, of the modern chartered companies is evidenced by the conditions of their charters. They are to exploit new regions; make them of industrial value, in keeping with the spirit of the age; bring the natives into some familiarity with foreign control; in short, prepare the regions for political control, and all of this without expense to the government. To do this, the modern chartered companies must be inspired with patriotism as well as with desire for personal gain.

WHY CHARTERED COMPANIES CAME INTO USE AGAIN.—The principal cause for their revival is their superior advantages as "skirmishers in front of the main body of organized possessions." Over a century and a quarter ago, Adam Smith wrote: "The government of an exclusive com-

[2] Reinsch: "Colonial Government."

pany of merchants is perhaps the worst of all governments for any country whatever." A writer to-day, in speaking of the chartered companies, says: "On the whole, it may be said that the second birth of the chartered companies is one of the most hopeful, as it is one of the most unexpected signs of the times." [3] These differing opinions reflect the wide difference in the two ages; they show the changes in conditions of world colonial expansion. This difference rests, to a great extent, on the marvelous changes made in transportation and communication by steam and electricity. Commercial monopoly is no more. Publicity, the result of modern conditions, makes the old tyrannical abuses of the chartered companies impossible for any length of time, therefore the objections brought against this form of colonial administration a century ago will not hold good at the present time. In 1895, Mr. Andre Lavertujon in his official report said, in referring to chartered companies: "The only title which a civilized nation may claim to occupy uncivilized territory can be derived from the obligation, common to all mankind, to bring under cultivation the remaining part of the earth." Under this title the chartered companies, to-day, are working as agents of the colonizing nations, doing a work in developing, and opening up the uncivilized regions, which it would be unwise for a nation to undertake, because of the great expense and resulting heavy taxes. On the other hand, the companies could not do this work in fulfilling the "obligation common to all mankind" without the guaranteed protection of a strong government.

It is the policy of the modern companies to interfere as little as possible with local conditions so long as their development work is not interfered with. Control is established to suit the conditions of the regions. Mistakes of policy are not uncommon but, on the whole, regions are brought rapidly to a state of civilization which justifies the home government's assuming direct control. This is done with remarkably little just criticism on the administration of the companies.

[3] C. P. Lucas.

THE OLD AND THE NEW CHARTERED COMPANIES COMPARED.—The leading characteristics of the older and the modern companies may be summed up as follows:

The older companies (1) were primarily commercial; (2) were given monopoly of commerce; (3) enjoyed only incidentally their political prerogatives; (4) were almost free from control of home government.

The modern companies (1) are essentially political in purpose; (2) have no monopoly in commerce; (3) have as their principal object industrial development of the resources of their concessions; (4) are subject to stricter control by the home government than were the older companies.

While almost unlimited powers are given the companies to-day, the danger of the evils practiced by the old-time companies is lessened by the supervision of a resident representative of the government.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

RELIGIOUS FEELING IN EUROPE.—During the first period of modern colonization religious feeling in Europe was intense. The church and state were filled with an ardent enthusiasm to carry the teachings of the Christian church to all the peoples of the earth. So, in most colonization movements of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, emissaries of the church went with the emissaries of the King.

Spain.—The Moors had been driven out of Spain just before the conquest and colonization of the Western Continents was begun by the nations of Europe and, as a result, Spain was filled with a religious zeal that was almost fanatic. It was felt by sovereign and by people to be a solemn duty to take to the savage peoples of its new lands the blessings of Christianity. This missionary spirit was undoubtedly a strong motive in Spanish colonization, the priest was always to be found with the conqueror and colonial official.

In Other Nations.—This same religious motive and missionary ardor were also evident in a lesser degree in Portugal. The colonial grants and patents issued by the rulers of England and France during this period show that missionary zeal was combined with the other aims. It was

not an uncommon thing to have a sermon preached at all the important meetings of the earlier English trading companies.

LATER PERIODS.—"The sowing of Christianity" has, since this early period, been a powerful factor in the opening of new territory and bringing it under the control of the home country. The political control is not the intention on the part of the missionary, it is a natural consequence. But, from the time the first bands of European explorers and colonists came to the shores of the American continents up to the present time, the missionary has been the real frontiersman. He precedes the trader. This is the story of the opening up of the Americas, and to-day the same story is being repeated in Africa, and, in a somewhat different form, in the Orient.

The missionary of to-day carries to a non-Christian people the teachings of his belief. Trouble may arise with the natives or with other powers. The privilege which all nations claim of protecting their citizens permits the mother country to interfere, and this usually leads to concession and political control, or privileges. "Through the work of missionaries, the British Empire obtained its first foothold in many of its most important colonies, such as Australia, the Fiji Islands, South and Central Africa, Sierra Leone, Burma, and Guinea."[4]

The political power of the French in Indo-China was established through the intervention of that country to protect its missionaries. In southern China, this same country obtained mining rights in six districts in Szechwan and other provinces as a compensation for a murdered missionary. A concession to build a railroad in the Provinces of Kwangsi and Kwantung was demanded and secured as indemnity for another missionary who fell victim to the abuses of the natives. These church workers have been a great aid also in the territorial expansion of France in West Africa. In many other places where French power rules to-day the missionary was first in the field.

Germany secured its important concession in Kiaochow,

[4] Reinsch: "Colonial Government."

China, because two German missionaries were murdered in these provinces. The mining and railroad concessions secured, came as additional compensation for the same outrage.

These few indicated special cases give no adequate idea of the importance of the Christian church as a colonizing factor. The missionary organizations regret that their work so often results, through no effort or intention of theirs, in the establishing of political power, as it casts a doubt on their sincerity and thus weakens them in their work and influence.

CHAPTER IV.

FORMS OF COLONIAL GOVERNMENT.

GENERAL.—There are certain recognized forms of colonial government as there are certain recognized forms of national government, but these forms are so modified and combined to suit conditions that there are in existence almost as many forms of colonial government as there are colonies. Each colonial power has a certain accepted policy in governing its colonies, but this policy is adjusted to suit the demands of the region governed.

The flexibility of England's recognized forms of colonial government is revealed in the following statement of Greswell in his "Growth and Administration of British Colonies" (1898): "No empire has ever shown more varied forms of administration than the British Empire. Leaving out the Indian empire, forty-three distinct governments exist in our colonial empire." The same authority further states that part of the territory of the British South Africa Company is under the Foreign Office and part under the Colonial Office.

While the nations were in the process of evolving ideas of nationality, and colonization was not a tried and accepted institution, there were no clearly-defined principles of governing the distant possessions, but rather what to-day seems to us mere makeshifts and experiments, reflecting ofttimes the changes in the political evolution going on in the home country, and often only the personality of the ruler. So the study of the needs and capabilities of the colonists and of the natives by the parent state in establishing colonies, as is shown by the varieties of colonial government existing to-day, is quite different from the plan pursued during the first period of political expansion when the prime ends in the control of outlying possessions

were the extension of political dominion, the material benefit of the colonizing power, and the personal gain of the individual colonizer.

CLASSIFICATION OF FORMS OF COLONIAL GOVERNMENT.

Writers on colonial government do not wholly agree on the classification of the forms of colonial government in use at the present time though certain forms are recognized by all. According to Reinsch, and he is supported by Gettell,[1] the forms of colonial government in use to-day may be grouped as follows:

I. Indirect administration.
   1. Spheres of influence.
   2. Protectorates.
   3. Chartered companies.
II. Direct administration.
   Crown colonies.
III. Self-governing or colonies with responsible government.

INDIRECT ADMINISTRATION is the control of territory or dependencies through some means other than a formal system of government organized and administered direct from the central home government. The home government gives to the authorized power the duty of preserving law and order in some specified region and guarantees it protection.

"**A Sphere of Influence** may be defined as a tract of territory within which a state, on the basis of treaties with neighboring colonial powers, enjoys the exclusive privilege of exercising political influence, of concluding treaties of protectorate, of obtaining industrial concessions, and of eventually bringing the region under its direct political control."[2] By this definition it is seen that a sphere of influence is a political institution created by treaties. As the relations between the powers concerned may be as varied as the treaties, there is, in consequence, a wide range of meaning in the use of the word, but the prevailing one

[1] R. G. Gettell: "Introduction to Political Science."
[2] Reinsch: "Colonial Government."

found always is that a sphere of influence means exclusive rights and privileges for certain purposes by the recognized power in the specified region. Usually these privileges are industrial. In modern colonization, the sphere of influence is a powerful factor. The necessity for such agreements between nations grew out of the overlapping of claims in the scramble for territory during the second period of colonial expansion.

The Conference of Berlin in 1885 was the first formal international step taken to adopt a law of occupation of territory by colonial powers. In the earlier period, colonial territory was claimed by the right of discovery; raising the flag of a nation was considered a valid claim of possession. This Conference agreed that such claims are not valid to-day. According to international law "corporeal possession, together with the successful establishment of control and continued maintenance of law and order throughout the whole territory claimed, is necessary to give any nation a recognized right to unoccupied territory." This does not mean the establishment of a formal system of government as would follow from formal occupation; it rather means that all other nations must keep out of another nation's sphere of influence, leaving that nation to exercise such control as it desires so long as law and order are maintained. By act of this Conference the nation occupying new territory must give notice to all other colonizing powers.

The work of the Conference of Berlin was not only to agree upon some method to limit the greed for territory, but also to prevent commercial and industrial monopoly in certain regions which, if kept open, would benefit the world, hence an "open door" policy was agreed upon whereby freedom of commerce was guaranteed in the whole Kongo basin. This agreement as to the Kongo basin expresses the tendency of the times and sounded the death knell of the old-time selfish commercial monopoly of nations.

As a result of international agreements, Africa has been peacefully divided among colonizing nations. Limits of territory have been agreed upon and the rights of one nation have not been seriously encroached upon by another.

Instead of a series of intercolonial wars as in the colonizing of North America, there has been a series of international treaties.

In Asia, there are also important spheres of influence, though the powers exercised are not so expressly defined as in Africa. Conditions are different. Africa is a new land inhabited for the most part by an uncivilized population. Asia is the home of an old civilization; here the European hold rests more upon the weakness of the old civilization and its inability, unaided, to meet new conditions into which the world-wide commercial activity of the twentieth century forces it. Sometimes the geographical situation is such that colonial powers establish a sphere of influence to protect their colonial interests in adjoining territory.

The Colonial Protectorate, as the sphere of influence, has been a prominent factor in modern colonization. Reinsch defines this form of indirect administration as follows: "The international conception presupposes two separate states, the weaker of which places itself, by treaty, under the protection of the stronger, retaining its internal autonomy, but permitting the protecting state to exert a guiding influence in its foreign affairs. The relations which are established between the two states are purely personal in nature, and the protecting power does not exercise any degree of direct territorial sovereignty." While retaining the general principles of this international conception of a protectorate, in practice, colonial politics has developed, to suit its uses, a new controlling institution quite flexible in character.

A common procedure is that the sphere of influence, which is negative, gradually changes into the positive control of the protectorate. Like the sphere of influence, the colonial protectorate varies in policy, differing in each colony. It is flexible, and so may be made to fit the region governed, to change constantly to meet changing conditions, but certain features may be found wherever the colonial protectorate exists. These are summarized by Reinsch [8] as follows: "(1) That native authorities continue to reign and

[8] Reinsch: "Colonial Government."

that the local institutions and customs shall not be interfered with. (2) That the protected state has political relations with the protecting power only and that it relinquishes the right of declaring war. (3) That it admits a political resident as representative of the protecting power and thus enables the latter to exercise a personal influence upon the government of the protected state. (4) That while, as a rule, native laws and customs are permitted to continue in force, they shall yield when imperial interests absolutely demand."

Protectorates, like spheres of influence, are found principally in Africa and Asia. Much of central and south central Africa has passed under the control of European nations through protectorate treaties made with the chiefs of barbarian tribes. These protectorates were temporary and soon merged into possession and annexation. English administration in India has been a series of various forms of colonial protectorates. History offers no more interesting experiments in this form of government than that of British Rule in India. In Egypt, England's control is in reality a protectorate, though it has never been proclaimed. But the civilized world looks to Great Britain as a protecting power over Egypt, and holds that nation responsible for the peace and development of the country. This well illustrates the elasticity of the interpretation of this form of indirect administration at the present time.

Still another form of this control is the frontier or communication protectorate. Here again, England has made a wide use of this control. In the countries bordering on India or regions controlling the route to India, as Afghanistan, Sokotra, and Aden, England has established protectorates on the claim of protecting her possessions in India. In these colonies the treaty stipulations leave the country with little interference from England. This power simply wants to be ready to ward off attacks or encroachments on her territory by establishing a line of outposts. This form of protectorate but further illustrates the very broad interpretation that is given this form of colonial government. As will be seen in the study of the colonies

of the different nations, all European powers make use of this form, but none so extensively as England.

Statesmen at the present time recognize that the colonial protectorate has, from the viewpoint of international politics, the advantage of permitting a nation from small beginnings to gradually increase its influence until control by direct administration is established. This will have been done without arousing opposition from other powers and thus a peaceable occupation is accomplished. This is recognized as more agreeable, at least, than a forcible taking control of territory.

A Chartered Company is an incorporated body receiving through a written instrument, called a charter, granted by the sovereign power of a nation, certain rights, privileges, and powers in a certain defined territory. To-day, these rights and privileges are chiefly commercial and industrial. The powers given by the charter are the control of the natives in the territory specified, the authority to make such laws and regulations as are necessary to preserve order, and to permit the exploitation of the territory for the benefit of the company and indirectly for the world and for the inhabitants of the territory.

DIRECT ADMINISTRATION is where the details of administration, the appointment of officials, and the power to control or originate legislation remain in the hands of the home government. Accepting Reinsch's classification, all such colonies are crown colonies.

Crown Colonies may be defined, then, as dependencies governed directly by the central government. This government may be modified to suit conditions. Military colonies, as Gibraltar, are governed in every detail by the British Government. Hongkong has an appointive council. Cochin China has a council, part of the members being elected, part appointed. Jamaica has an elective council. Thus, it is seen, that administration of crown colonies by all nations varies as to the colony and changes to meet changing conditions in the colony.

In the colonies of direct administration, the governor is the principal official. In him all responsibility and governmental power are concentrated. He is responsible to the

home government as its representative, and is responsible to the colony as having its interests in charge. In almost all crown colonies, the governor is assisted by an executive council. The character, personnel, and manner of selecting this council varies in different colonies. Probably in no two colonies would the councils be alike in all points.

The colonies governed by direct administration are nearly all in the tropics. The question as to whether the colonial protectorate is not a better form of government for colonies in this region has been widely discussed by colonial administrators and writers on colonial administration.

They seem to be of one opinion that the representative councils in the crown colonies have not been wholly satisfactory to either the native or the colonist. Unfortunately the colonist is not always entirely unselfish or altruistic in his motives. The native has had little or no training in the responsibility of representative government such as comes from experience in local representative institutions in small communities. He has never learned to consider the good of the whole rather than of the few, and that in government the present good must often be sacrificed to the ultimate good. Hence there is a misunderstanding of motives and a lack of harmony in the councils and the real needs of the colony do not always receive due consideration.

Under a protectorate, it is argued that, as the native institutions of government need not be uselessly interfered with, the opportunities for training in government are better than under the system of representative councils. For it is coming to be realized that no unmodified institution of government can be transplanted into a region with entirely different geographical conditions and with a different race. The essentials of a government institution can be established in time, but it must be through the process of evolution. The native institutions of the people must gradually evolve into other better forms. The people must be trained and educated to live under and to carry on the government under these institutions. The method must be induction. The people must go from the known to the unknown, from the particular to the general.

Representative government as found in the temperate regions is the result of centuries of evolution. In the tropics the process must be the same; but with the institutions in the temperate zones as models and with the guidance and aid of the people from these zones, the time may be reckoned in decades instead of centuries.

That, in the essentials, representative government will one day be the government of all the people of the earth, all who have vision fully believe. But the people must be prepared and trained for it or they will become the tools of trickery and the institutions of government be used for gross abuse of the rights which they should guard.

The policy of the Government of the United States in the Philippines is based upon this principle of evolution. That the people of the Islands might be trained in representative government and educated to meet and appreciate its responsibilities, local autonomy was granted and the Assembly established. But to safeguard the colony as a whole during this period of development the supervision and control of the government institutions are under the representatives of the Government of the United States. It was recognized by the United States that the Philippines had been under the control of a western nation for three and one-half centuries and were not unfamiliar with representative institutions. Because of this, government institutions of a more advanced stage were introduced than could otherwise have been.

SELF-GOVERNING COLONIES.—The form of government of self-governing colonies or colonies with responsible government is obvious from the name. It is a form of government in which colonists have an almost independent political life, where they are held responsible for maintenance of the government. Lord Durham, one of the first advocates of self-government in colonies, says in his "Report on the Affairs of British America" (1839): "The responsibility to the colonial legislature of all the officers of the government, except the governor and his secretary, should be secured by every means known to the British constitution. The governor, as the representative of the Crown, should be instructed that he must carry on his government by heads

of departments in whom the colonial legislature shall repose confidence; and that he must look for no support from home in any contest with the legislature except in points involving strictly Imperial interests."

Since the time of Lord Durham's report, the three large settlement colonies of Great Britain have become self-governing. The evolution into their present form, which closely resembles that of Great Britain, has been logical. The colonists are English, they have taken with them to the new lands the English language, literature, religion, customs, traditions, and the fundamental ideas of English government. Some writers assert, however, that these colonies have not imitated the home country in their political institutions, but rather have led in the development of the more liberal ideas in England.

"The internal affairs and in fact almost all the inner polity of the commonwealths are left free from interference by the mother country." The public lands of each colony have been turned over to the colonists to administer as they choose; they control their own tariff policies and make their own commercial treaties with foreign powers. "The general relations with all the outside world are maintained by the home country though the colonies are usually consulted where their interests are concerned."[4]

The governor, who is appointed by the Crown, is the representative of the Crown, and as such is held responsible by his sovereign. He has the veto power when any act of colonial legislation "is incompatible with the undisputed interests of the empire as a whole or with the continued allegiance of the colony." Of course, the Crown retains the right of veto, though this right has seldom been used.

INSTITUTIONS OF COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION IN THE HOME COUNTRY.

Thus far, only government as located in the colonies has been considered, but there must be organized institutions of colonial administration in the home country as well. These institutions vary in the different countries according

[4] Quotations in this paragraph are from Reinsch: "Colonial Government."

to the colonial policy of the country. In general, however, there is this resemblance that each nation has a separate colonial department. France has a "Ministry of Colonies," a complex institution. Holland has a separate Colonial Office. Germany has a Colonial Division of the Foreign Office. "The Colonial Office of Great Britain was reorganized in 1907. This reorganization divided the Colonial Office into three branches, the first of which, called the Dominions Department, will deal with business connected with the self-governing colonies and will be linked with the secretariate of the Imperial Conference. The second department called the Colonial, or Crown Colonies Department, will deal with the administrative and political work of the crown colonies and protectorates. The third, or General Department, which is also a legal department, will deal with matters common to all crown colonies, such as currency, banking, posts and telegraph, education, etc."[5] A special secretary has control of the colonial affairs of the Government of India. The United States has no colonial department, its colonies are administered under different Departments of the Cabinet. There is a Bureau of Insular Affairs.

The appointment of the governor by the home government, and, in some cases, part of the lawmaking bodies is another way in which the government of the colonies originates in the home country. Experience has shown that it is not wise to attempt much in the way of detailed legislation for the colonies in the lawmaking body of the ruling power. It has been found more satisfactory to leave legislation on the matters pertaining to the local conditions of the colonies to the representatives of the government who are familiar with the needs and local conditions, and are able to frame laws suitable to these conditions, while the home legislature retains only the right of shaping the general policy as to the form of government and the relations, fiscal and otherwise, of the colony with the home government.

[5] "Statesman's Year-Book" (1910).

CHAPTER V.

THE NECESSARY REQUIREMENTS FOR COLONIZATION.

With the passing of the old idea that a colony was to be considered only as a source of direct profit to the sovereign power, and the adopting of the modern idea of obligation on the part of the ruling power for the welfare of the people in the colony, both native and colonist, and a realization of a sense of responsibility for the relation of the colony to the rest of the world, there have been certain principles evolved which are accepted as necessary for establishing and maintaining successful colonies. Alleyne Ireland (1899) states that this idea does not date back more than fifteen years. Morris says: "To render any effort or system of colonization successful, certain well-defined conditions must exist, not only in the land to be colonized, but likewise in the parent state. If, on the other hand, these requirements are lacking, the attempt to maintain tranquil, harmonious, and satisfactory relations between the metropolis and its dependencies must prove futile." The requirements given in this chapter are a summing up of this author's discussion of the subject.

CONDITIONS IN THE COLONIZING STATE.—The First Requirement of the mother country is that of strength. She must be a nation of power, and "possess a well-developed social organization, and the men of the country should be men of intellect and education."

The Second Requirement is density of population and an individual discontent caused by surplus of labor, excessive competition in industrial fields, and a feeling that a better opportunity is offered in the colony.

The Third Requirement is wealth. A poor nation cannot afford to have colonies, as a great expense is involved in protecting them, and also money is needed in the development of the natural resources and in making internal improvements.

A Fourth Requirement is, that the situation of trade be such as to demand new markets for the productions of the home country. There must be more produced in the colonizing country than is consumed. The colony must be made a market for the surplus manufactures. There must, also, be the condition that the colonizing power does not produce enough products of the soil to satisfy the demand in the home country for food products and for raw materials for manufacturing, thus requiring from the colonies their surplus agricultural and natural food products.

The Fifth Requirement is, that the nation must be able and prepared to defend and protect the colony from attack from without and to preserve peace within.

CONDITIONS IN THE COLONY.—**The People** should be, as a race, ignorant of regular labor, untrained in the arts and sciences, inexperienced in manufacturing, in commerce, and in improved methods of agriculture. They should have little applied knowledge of sanitary laws and of the preservation of health. The native method of government should be crude, imperfect, and administered without firmness.

The Soil of the region must be new, natural resources good, and manufactories few. The colony will thus consume manufactured products from the mother country and produce for her raw materials.

Capital Should be Lacking.—The colony should furnish an opportunity for investment of surplus capital from the mother country. There must be no competition between the colony and the ruling power, one supplies to the other what it lacks, the colony produces the required commodities, and the home country supplies the needed money. "They must be capable of providing for each other's needs, material, moral and intellectual."

THE COLONIST, that is, the emigrant from the mother country, must fulfill certain conditions. He should be of

the middle class. A man who has known only poverty and its environments or a man bred to a life of ease, is not the best kind of material for a colonist. Experience has shown that the best characteristics which a colonist can possess, are permanence, pluck, thrift, and industry. These, the men of the middle class are most apt to have.

The administration of the government by the colonist should be honest, just, and moderate; wealth for the home coffers should not be the sole aim of the colonial official.

With all these requirements and necessary conditions there must be patience in awaiting results. The great number of colonial failures have been due to haste and imprudence; time is the sole medium of knowledge. A colony is not born nor developed in a day; before a fair estimate can be made of its value a considerable period must elapse. Bacon has said that at least thirty years must pass before judgment be given.

EARLIEST COLONIZATION.

CHAPTER VI.

EARLIEST COLONIZATION.

BEGINNINGS.—A simple primitive colonization can be found in the earliest periods of recorded history. This would be the natural result or accompaniment of the economic development of mankind. Local exchange of products led to the desire for a wider market, this to a means of transportation; then followed trading posts, which soon became more or less permanent, and demanded protection from the home land. In this way colonization began.

EGYPT.—The history of Egypt, so far as the records show, gives no definite account of any colonies, but the Egyptians were a trading people, and as such, must have had trading stations. The strongest bond, then, between Egypt and her colonies was that of trade.

ASSYRIA.—The nations which rose in succession in the historic area of the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates had colonies. Their policies were quite similar, the military idea and the commercial idea being dominant.

Assyria, the first nation to rise into prominence in this valley, often transplanted a conquered people to another region, bringing to this vacated territory another conquered people. This was done to weaken the vanquished people and thus render them more easily controlled. Sometimes one province was made subordinate to another. All had to pay tribute and render homage to Assyria, and military service was obligatory. The bonds of the government to the central government were very loose.

THE MEDES followed the same policy as the Assyrians, depending on military power for government and leaving

the distant frontier dependencies to the control of the provinces lying between them and the metropolis, thereby creating national weakness, rather than strength.

THE KINGDOM OF CHALDEA had one requirement of a colonizing power in that it was a producer in greater quantities than was necessary for home consumption. It was rich in all agricultural products, especially grain, and was a commercial nation. The Prophet Ezekiel speaks of Babylon as a "city of merchants," and the land of Chaldea as a "land of traffic." The Chaldeans were known as a trading, farming, seafaring people. Grote tells that, "Nebuchadnezzar also constructed the seaport Teredon at the mouth of the Euphrates and excavated a ship canal four hundred miles in length and joined it with Babylon." All this shows Chaldea's necessity for colonies, or rather possessions. Chaldea's policy in dealing with her colonies was quite similar to that of Assyria. The more remote provinces were made subordinate to those nearer the central government. Native princes were often retained on the thrones; tribute and military service were demanded; the colonies were drained of wealth and treasure which were used on the public buildings and in other improvements in the home country. No money was spent in improving the colonies industrially or commercially. Chaldea did good service in spreading the civilization of the times, but the underlying principles of her colonization system were wrong, and as centuries have gone on nations have learned to avoid them.

THE PERSIANS had a strong aversion to trade and commerce. Shops were not permitted to be in the most important parts of the cities, but were relegated to out-of-the-way places. The Persians said that the deceit required, or at least practiced, in trade was contrary to the teachings of religion, hence their aversion. The outlying possessions of Persia were secured and held entirely by the power of the sword. It follows that there could be no development of an enduring colonial system as no effort was made by Persia to improve or develop the colonies, and there existed no mutual industrial need between the dependencies and the home country.

None of these five nations were true colonizers. The record of their efforts in this direction is of interest and is of value because of the lessons learned. Their methods teach that military power alone will not successfully control dependencies. Colonies cannot be subordinated to other colonies; colonies cannot be drained of their wealth for the enrichment of the colonizing power and left with no means for internal improvement and development.

PHŒNICIA.—The colonies established by Egypt and the kingdoms of the Tigris and Euphrates valley really belong to one epoch; their characteristics are very much alike. True colonization, however, may be said to have had its beginnings in the colonial enterprises of another nation contemporary with these, Phœnicia.

Necessity for Colonies.—Two of the necessary conditions for a successful colonizing power, that of density of population and overproduction of manufactured commodities existed in this kingdom, which occupied a little strip of territory between the mountains and the sea. The area of the kingdom was small, and the peace and prosperity which always characterized it attracted a large immigration, which so augmented the natural increase of population that in time the country could not produce a sufficient food supply. The near-by islands were early settled by emigrants. The location of the country made the Phœnicians sailors and traders, so it followed as a matter of course, that the problem of overpopulation should be solved by transporting companies of emigrants to distant regions. As the Phœnicians were a great manufacturing people, these new settlements were made markets for their manufactures and sources of supply for the required raw materials.

Conditions in the Nation that Promoted Colonization.—The Phœnicians were the greatest navigators of their age. Not only did the harbors of the Mediterranean know their ships, but having found favor with the gods they sailed beyond the Pillars of Hercules and explored the coasts of Spain, Portugal, and France, and, tradition says, Britain and as far south as the Cape of Good Hope. Whether the legendary tales of these far-off places be true or not, it is certain

the Phœnicians were much more adventurous in extending their explorations than their rivals on the sea and in colonization.

Not only to the westward did they turn their attention, but also to the east. They knew or surmised that the Red Sea could be used as a route to India. King Solomon, whom they had aided in carrying out his building enterprises, granted them permission to build vessels at a port on the Red Sea. This fleet made a three years' voyage in the Indian Ocean and returned with a big cargo of Indian products. From this time, a steady trade with the East was maintained and the cities of Phœnicia were the distributing points. "She is the mart of nations" was said of her by contemporaries.

Phœnicia was a manufacturing nation. Being workers of metals, the mines discovered by them in Spain were developed and became rich sources of mineral supply. Weavers of fine textiles, and experts in the art of making rare dyes, their colonies became an exhaustless source of raw materials for the industry of cloth making.

Besides these leading industries and many lesser arts and manufactures the principal distributing centers for foreign goods were in Phœnicia, so it is readily understood, that it could be said of Tyre that it was "the crowning city whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the honorable of the earth," and that they were the "merchants of the people of many isles," and that "Syria was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of the wares of thy making." The Phœnicians were, without question, the foremost industrial and commercial people of their day, besides being the people of the widest geographical knowledge. Consequently, they were logical colonizers.

The Phœnician colonies were numerous. They were on all the islands of any size in the Mediterranean, on the north coast of Africa, in Cadiz and in other places in Spain, and possibly there were Phœnician trading posts in southern Britain. The Phœnicians, were the first race in antiquity, who by peaceful means attained a world-wide supremacy, and the world was taught its first lesson by them in the theory of colonization.

Policy.—The policy pursued toward the colonies by the Phœnicians was, that the colonies were for trade and not to extend territory; they were left practically independent from control. The Phœnicians were not in any sense fighters or conquerors, and as the colonies were the sources of food supply for the home country, the colonists were engaged in farming as well as in mining and other industrial pursuits and paid little attention to anything else. Peace as a usual thing prevailed.

The weakness in this policy was that in government the bond of trade only is not strong enough for permanence, hence just as soon as the colonies grew to be centers of trade, Phœnicia lost the local trade which she could command, and year by year became weaker until at last her greatness was gone and the nation became the victim of a stronger power.

The policy of Phœnicia toward the world was one of selfish monopoly; her mariners were instructed to keep everything pertaining to their routes, their discoveries, and sources of articles of trade secret, if possible. Not only were these kept hidden, but their geographical knowledge and discoveries in the arts and sciences were never given to the world. Had they done so, it is said that the progress in the sciences of astronomy and geography might have been advanced by two thousand years.

Influence.—The permanent work which the Phœnicians did as a colonizing power was to carry their civilization to the uttermost parts of the known world. Where the raw materials were to be found, as in Spain, they taught the arts of weaving and working in metals, and so spread the industrial arts. With the exception of their greatest gift to the world, the alphabet, the civilizing influence of the Phœnicians was material.

CARTHAGE.—The Phœnician colony which rose to greatest prominence was Carthage. In this case the colony became more powerful than the parent state ever was, even in the zenith of its greatness. In the history of colonization Carthage may be considered as a successor to Phœnicia. Situated on a peninsula on the north coast of Africa, the

geographical location of Carthage was in every way favorable to commercial prosperity. From the sixth century to the third century, B.C., Carthage was the greatest commercial and colonizing nation of the world. Her expansion was gradual; beginning with the subjugation of adjoining territory on the mainland, she next spread to those near-by islands which were easy to defend.

That her strength lay in colonial possessions, Carthage seems early to have understood. The locations of her colonies were selected with the idea of adding to national glory and power as well as for their commercial advantages. These colonies were settlement colonies, not mere trading posts.

Carthage first put into practice the idea of conquest in connection with the founding of colonies. Unlike Phœnicia, this power subdued the people where she founded her establishments, and to the Phœnician characteristics of merchant and sailor, added those of fighter and conqueror.

Location of Colonies.—Carthage founded colonies in Sardinia, Corsica, Balearic Isles, Malta, Sicily, Spain, and on the African coast as far south as Senegambia. At the time of her greatest expansion she had as colonial possessions three hundred cities in Africa, extensive areas in Spain, most of the islands of the Mediterranean, and ruled two thousand miles of coast washed by the Mediterranean and the Atlantic.

Policy.—The greatness of Carthage depended wholly on her possessions. She relied on them for food and for revenue. She was not a manufacturing nation, but was a distributing center for the products of the world. Her location was favorable for this, thus she in turn, as Phœnicia had been, became the "mart of nations." As her possessions spread farther from the central power, and competitors came into the field, defense on more rigid lines became necessary and a decisive policy was adopted. Carthage defended her possessions by the strictest of monopoly rules, as well as with her army and navy. The most arbitrary laws were passed. With a few exceptions, foreign ships were prohibited going into the harbor of Carthage

or the ports of the colonies. Carthaginians were forbidden to carry colonial goods elsewhere than to Carthage. These laws would compel nations desiring the products of her colonies or foreign commodities to buy them in Carthage, where, undoubtedly, heavy export duties were levied on what was sold to foreigners. To maintain this monopoly required a large navy as well as army, the support of which consumed the greater part of the enormous revenues. This was a short-sighted policy, but it has taken centuries for nations to appreciate that it is. The colonies remained loyal, as the supremacy of Carthage was a necessity for their very existence, and the metropolis was their market as well as their protection. The colonists were also bound to the mother city by ties of race and custom. The restlessness of the colonists which came in later days was the result of the unjust taxes.

Government.—In controlling the colonies, Carthage made two classes. Those near the metropolis were directly tributary to the metropolis and were heavily taxed; the more distant colonies were also directly controlled by the mother city, but more as trading posts. All were under military commanders. The official who could collect the largest tribute stood the best with the mother city. The effect on the colonies of this kind of control is obvious. Carthage was the commercial power of her time but she was also a military power. With her merchant vessels went her war galleys, and with her caravan marched her army, but soldiers and sailors were hired mercenaries, hence there was no patriotism in her defense.

Causes of Downfall.—The extent of the colonial empire of Carthage was so great, that to defend it the treasury was drained and the levying of enormous taxes on the mother city as well as in the colonies was made necessary. Discontent, rebellion, a falling off of the mercenaries in the army and navy so weakened the metropolis that she could not withstand the powerful rivals which had arisen. Had she adhered to the motto of one of her founders, "attempt not to acquire that which may not be retained," the greatness of Carthage would have been of much longer duration.

She fell a victim to her own ambition, her own greed for wealth, territory, and glory. This is one of the lessons which her colonial history teaches to modern nations.

GREECE.—Some one has said that, "when Greece was at the height of power the Mediterranean was a Greek lake with a girdle of Greek colonies around it." The colonial enterprise of the Greeks led to the establishment of colonies on all the principal islands of the Mediterranean, in Asia Minor, on the coast of the Black Sea, on the northern coast of Africa, and in Italy. A Greek colony was the beginning of Marseille in France, and Spain also became the home of the colonists from classic Greece, while the more venturesome of her navigators sailed through the Pillars of Hercules and explored the coasts of Spain and Britain, and beyond to the "land of Thule," a land which has never been identified in modern times. Greek colonization was contemporaneous with that of Phœnicia and Carthage though the earliest period dates from 1124 B. C.

Colonies a Necessity.—Greece established colonies because they were a necessity to her to relieve certain conditions in the country. The Greeks were never a nation but a race; there were political feuds, and quarreling, and revolutions within the home borders. The people were adventurous, of independent spirit, possessing a great love for freedom. These personal qualities, to which might be added an ambition to better personal condition, "to rise in the world," made the Greeks naturally fitted to go abroad and seek new homes. The mother state encouraged and ofttimes aided in this emigration, for there was danger of overpopulation in the limited land area of Greece. It was early realized that it is easier to rule one hundred rich than one poor, so the state rid itself of the poor, dependent, undesirable, population by encouraging emigration.

Methods of Colonizing.—Like Phœnicia, Greece established colonies by peaceful methods. They were settlement colonies. The method usually pursued was that a small band of emigrants sought some place unoccupied by other colonial powers, and by purchase from the natives or sometimes by their charity, obtained some land and established their homes. By their natural ability, they soon became the

dominant power in the regions where they settled. As her colonies grew, rivalry with the other powers arose, and in the later period, war was necessary to defend the colonies. As a colonist, the adaptability of the Greek to his situation was one of his leading traits.

The stronger Greek colonies became in turn the founders of other colonies; thus Miletus is said to have founded three hundred colonies on the Black Sea.

Government.—The policy of Greece in governing her colonies was to leave them quite independent as to form of government. All forms of administration might be found in her dependencies, oligarchy, democracy, republic, and tyranny. This shows that there was no special political bond between the colony and the mother country, yet there were bonds which were strong enough to keep a Greek colony always a Greek colony. The racial bond was strong, although the national ties were weak. Then the Greek colonists took their religion with them, literally taking the fire of the home altars to light the fire on the new altars. The Greek language and literature became the language and literature of the colonies. There was the bond of commerce, for the Greeks were a trading people, although not to any extent a manufacturing people as were the Phœnicians; yet, commercially, they were strong competitors on the sea of the Carthaginians. Lastly, there were the Olympian games which every four years brought together at Athens competitors for honors from all the colonies. This was a strong influence in keeping the Greek colonists Greeks and in close touch with the mother country.

The enduring effect of the Greek policy of colonial government, which must be recognized as a most efficient force in human progress, is admirably summed up in the following: "The Hellenes followed no common political aim; they cannot be compared with Phœnicia or Carthage, their provinces and towns were of insignificant extent but the manner in which these men, with no extraneous impulse or example, ordered their public affairs deserves the most attentive consideration. Independent and self-centered, they created, in a constant struggle of citizen with citizen and state with state, the groundwork of those forms of

government which have been established in the world at large." [1]

Influence.—In the value to the world and to civilization the influence of the colonization by Greece can hardly be estimated. Unlike Phœnicia, Greece gave to mankind the knowledge of geography and navigation which she had gained. She introduced schools and disseminated over remote barbarian regions her culture, which was at its zenith at the time of her colonial expansion. "Without the effects of these widely scattered establishments, mankind in every sense would have enjoyed a deferred and only half-formed civilization."

Many of the countless legends of Greece are connected with or originated in her colonies. Among the great names of ancient Greece are many who were colonials by birth.

Causes of Downfall.—The downfall of Greece as a colonizing power was due to the scattering of her resources and the pursuing of the plan of decentralization rather than of centralization.

ROME.—While the greatness of Rome did not rest upon her colonies, yet in the influence which the Imperial City had upon mankind, her colonies and her colonial system played no small part. In her policy, Rome had the advantage of the experience of Carthage and of Greece and was able to profit by their weaknesses.

Greece and Rome Compared.—Rome differed from her sister empire, Greece, in almost every line of national activity, but especially in the system of colonization. Greece, because of her location and the contour of her coast, was a sea power. Rome, rising into power after the islands and the coast of the Mediterranean had been pretty well colonized, was forced to become a land power and to expand inland.

Greece consisted of many parts, each with a different ancestry and each with a petty ruler, while Rome was a unit, one city, one king. Not only in government was this true but in the realm of culture also. In Greece, her poets,

[1] Von Ranke.

authors, orators, philosophers, were to be found in her colonies. As has been stated, many of the great Greeks were of colonial birth. Not so in Rome, all her sons, great in letters or arts, dwelt in the city on the shores of "Father Tiber" and most were born there.

The Romans were essentially conquerors of the land. It is said that from the first "Rome was a school of war, a permanent establishment for conquest." The meaning of the words used for a colony by the Greeks and by the Romans indicates somewhat the difference in their colonies. The Roman word *colonia* signifies a plantation, or a people who till the soil, while the word used by the Greeks means a "dweller apart."

Periods of Colonization.—There were two periods of colonial enterprise in Rome, the first during the Republic, and even before. In this period, expansion was in the peninsula. In the second period, during the Empire, the expansion was in lands without the peninsula.

The method in the *first period* was to confiscate lands from conquered peoples and divide them among the Romans, usually the poor, on condition, that they would go and live on the land and till it. A decree of the senate was necessary to create a colony. The territory was described, the laws and regulations of the colony, and even the number of colonists, were decided upon by the senate. Eminent men were made colonial officials. Artisans, mechanics, and laborers, chosen by the senate were in the bands of colonists. This system cared for the poor of Rome, as only this class could be induced, in any numbers, to permanently leave the city. The principal men of the subjugated peoples were taken to Rome and given homes. In this way, the peninsula became Romanized. In one class of colonies, the maritime, the colonists retained the rights of Roman citizenship, but not in the other two classes. These colonies, not only thus cared for the poor of Rome, but established centers of loyal Romans who took their language, laws, and customs with them; they formed reliable defenders in time of war, and in time of peace were a source of agricultural supplies and taxes. About 130 B.C. Rome began to change her

colonial policy, so this date may be said to mark the close of the first period. When Rome had at last carried out Cato's oft-repeated command "Carthage must be destroyed," the increased territory and enormous debts and expenditures which she found herself facing, forced her into the change. The acquired territory was needed to increase the revenue, and it was not considered politic to decrease the population of Rome further. Therefore, it was decided not to distribute any more lands, nor to create any more settlements, but to use all men and resources to defend that already possessed.

With the Empire began the *second* era, and its effects fall outside the peninsula. One of Julius Cæsar's first acts was to give new life to the weak colony already established on the site of Carthage by sending out twenty thousand colonists. But most of the colonial enterprises of the Emperors were of a military character. The old soldiers of the Empire must be rewarded. At first, they were given estates taken from the citizens of Italy; later they were rewarded with lands taken in conquered territory. In this way, Roman colonies were established throughout all the the lands conquered by the legions of Rome. Not all of those receiving these gifts of conquered lands were old soldiers, but the majority of them were. These settlements, whether to the west in England, to the east in Asia, to the south in Africa, or north over the Alps, were essentially Roman in every way—in law, in language, in architecture; and all had a great respect for the metropolis.

Influence.—The aim of the Roman colonizing policy was to make every colony a part of the whole unit. The result was, that nationality was widely diffused. In Britain, the geographical nomenclature, the roads, and the architecture of the Roman colonies withstood all the destroying powers of the barbarous and semibarbarous centuries which intervened between the time of Roman control and the emergency of England into the light of civilization. Spain, France, northern Africa, and many places in central Europe tell the same eloquent tale of the enduring quality of the nationality established by the colonists from Rome.

The culture of Rome was bequeathed, in some degree, through her colonies to all European nations west of the Russian frontier. Her commercial relations with her possessions aided in this, for Rome needed her colonies even in the days of her wondrous splendor. They were her bases of supply. "Thus along the routes leading to the capital rolled the grain, the meat, the wine, the fruit, the vegetables, necessary to the maintenance of her inhabitants; and not the less from them were procured her luxuries, as well as her mineral and her metallic riches." Rome was a consumer but never a producer in any sense, neither was she a commercial nation in the sense of being a carrier, a distributor of products for other people. Her trade consisted, in the main, in supplying herself, but so great was her extent and her demands that the commerce throughout her possessions was enormous.

Taken all in all, the result of Rome's colonies, even though she is not considered as making colonizing her chief aim, may be considered as having accomplished more for humanity than the metropolis itself did, though the city as the parent state must be given the credit. The greatest and most lasting achievements of Imperial Rome was the work of her soldiers, as farmers rather than as fighters; this shows the wisdom of her rulers who carried out the scheme of colonizing.

Summing up this first period of colonization, the area in which colonies, military or settlement, had been established embraced all the islands of the Mediterranean, the lands bordering on its waters and inland in Asia Minor and southern Europe, and to some extent England. In all these regions actual colonists had brought all that colonies of a people of a superior civilization bring to a new region and to a people of inferior civilization. Many of the regions had seen a succession of colonies, as for example Cyprus; each nation of antiquity from Assyria, in the eighth century B.C. to Rome, had had colonies on this fertile island. Syracuse, Greece's greatest colony, later became the object of a bitter struggle for conquest by Carthage and Rome.

Far beyond these real colonies was carried, by the commerce connected with the colonies, the civilization of these early nations. Thus the knowledge of geography and navigation was extended immeasurably, and the best in architecture, learning, and art was spread throughout the known world. The mixture of races which followed, especially from the colonies of Rome during the days of the Empire, brought a new type of people, thus laying the foundations of the new nations of modern times, each with the varying types and characteristics of a composite people.

Through these nations have been preserved, by inheritance, much of the earlier culture that would otherwise have been lost. The principles of government were evolved, to a very great extent, through the problems of colonization either in the colonies themselves or in the ruling power.[2]

The selfish monopoly of the Phœnicians, the Carthaginians, the loosely bound, extensive policy of the Greeks, the policy of centralization of the Romans, each has its lesson for the colonizing powers at the present time. They are steps in the development of the colonizing policy of the present and, like all history, are valuable in teaching what to adopt and what to avoid. A thing or a principle, because it was Greek or Roman, is not of necessity of value because those nations were great, nor is it to be not considered because those nations lost their greatness; "new occasions teach new duties, time makes ancient good uncouth." But there is also the truth that the new duties are better performed, new occasions more wisely met, if the past has been read with an open mind and a fair judgment; so, in order to better meet the opportunities and duties of to-day in giving to all the regions of the world, and to all the peoples, the best the world has, records of these first attempts of centuries long past are studied.

[2] Martin Hume: "The Spanish People."

"Spain produced the best and most direct adaptation of the Roman law, the *Lex Visigothorum* or *Fuero Juzgo*, when all other Teutonic dominations were endeavoring to supersede or destroy the Latin judicial system. Spain thus transmitted in unbroken line the law of ancient Rome to modern Europe."

MEDIEVAL COLONIZATION.

CHAPTER VII.

MEDIEVAL COLONIZATION.

THE CHARACTER OF THE COLONIZATION of medieval times is peculiar, in that the promoters were municipalities without any tributary territory. The sole object of the establishment of colonies was trade. Strict regulations, in the main, were made regarding the emigrants leaving the metropolis, they were limited to the number necessary to conduct business in the locality to which they were bound. The settlements, oftentimes consisted exclusively of merchants residing there, in fact many of the colonies were only trading concessions granted in the larger cities. Colonies were established and maintained solely for the benefit of the parent city. It was the belief and policy that commerce could be maintained only by wars and conquests. The social and political influence was slight and temporary.

THE COLONIZING MUNICIPALITIES.—The municipalities prominent, in the middle ages in extending their power, were all located on the Italian peninsula and were originally Roman colonies.

Almalfi was the first to secure the privilege of trading settlements. In the twelfth century she had some colonies in Constantinople, Bagdad, Alexandria, Tunis, and Cyprus.

Pisa, as a result of the crusades, was enabled to plant commercial colonies in Constantinople, Tyre, and in cities in Syria and Asia Minor, as well as on the principal islands of the Mediterranean.

Florence, noted for her culture, wealth, and political ideas, was a manufacturing center and had a world-wide reputation for woolen fabrics, and, like Tyre of old, for beautiful dyes. Her own products as well as those which she brought from other lands for distribution, she carried to all the known world on her large fleet of merchant marine. Her

commercial settlements and her warehouses were in Bruges, Antwerp, London, Paris, and in all the principal ports and cities of the East and of Africa. The citizens of Florence became, through her commerce, the bankers and financiers of Europe, and it is recorded how they made large loans to England and to other countries. Her policy was a strict prohibitive monopoly and war was waged against all competitors.

Genoa, because of her location, became an extensive commercial colonizer, through the crusades. Her ships, which transported the earnest crusaders, carried in their holds that which Genoa knew would find ready sale in the lands of the eastern Mediterranean. The profits on this merchandise and the money paid to her for transporting the crusaders, and the concessions granted her in the lands conquered by the defenders of the Cross, soon made Genoa a powerful municipality. Her trading colonies were found in all places of importance in all the lands bordering on the Mediterranean, as well as on the islands, and her warehouses were in all the ports of Europe.

Genoa kept open all the trading routes during the period of the crusades. By furnishing means of transportation for supplies and people in the enterprises of the crusaders, the city aided in propagating Christianity and in spreading western civilization during this period.

Venice, the Queen City of the Adriatic, was the greatest of the colonizing municipalities of Italy. Her geographical location gave her every advantage to become a trading center in the middle ages, and so well did she use these advantages that by the eleventh century Venice rather than Constantinople was the real metropolis of the East. As with her sister cities, the crusades aided in starting her on her colonizing career. Unlike Genoa, there was no religious zeal in the motives of Venice. Her motives were purely mercenary, and she formed alliances with any faith that would be to her commercial advantage.

Her colonies were trading concessions, usually in the coast cities. She had many possessions in the Greek peninsula and on the neighboring islands, and a line of colonial posts which extended to the eastern extremity of the Black Sea

and along the shores of the eastern Mediterranean. These colonies in Greece and on the Black Sea gave her control of the trade with the interior of Bulgaria and Hungary.

Her ships, numbering some thousands, carried her own products and the products of other countries, for which Venice was a distributing point, to all Mediterranean, and to all European ports. Prosperity, and a large measure of individual liberty, fostered peace at home, and Venice applied all her forces and energies to the building up of a strong commercial power.

Her policy was extreme protection of imports and exports as well as of the secrets of her manufactures. Competition was not tolerated; her skilled workmen were not permitted to emigrate; only by paying double freight were foreign merchants permitted to send merchandise in Venetian vessels; they were not permitted to build or purchase boats in the ports controlled by Venice.

The Causes of the Downfall of these medieval colonizing powers are in general the same. The discovery of the New World, the finding of a new route to India, the consequent shifting of the routes of the trade from the Mediterranean Sea to the Atlantic and Indian Oceans all contributed to their downfall. In the case of Venice, her exclusive policy and her despotic control of trade closed the doors of Europe against her, and she expended her energies in the useless subjugation of the petty Italian states instead of rising to meet the new trade conditions. When the new era swept in, she remained stationary and soon became a thing of the past.

Influence.—Keeping alive trade, and keeping the East and the West in touch were the principal results of this medieval period. The effects of the exclusive trade policy are apparent in the colonial history of these municipalities. While the policy might have been temporarily of advantage in the limited commercial area of the Mediterranean, it was disastrous when the commercial field became more extensive. So the record of the colonization of the middle ages bears the lesson that, in the interest of national prosperity, national policies must change as conditions change.

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COLONIZATION OF MODERN TIMES.

COLONIZATION OF MODERN TIMES.

INTRODUCTORY.

CHANGED CONDITIONS OF COLONIZATION: CAUSES.—For three thousand years the colonizing powers of the world found the Mediterranean extensive enough for their enterprises, except for the ventures around Britain and the northwest coast of Africa. But with each century the knowledge of navigation advanced; geographical knowledge increased; ships were built larger and were in every way improved and better adapted to ocean travel; maps and charts began to have a practical degree of accuracy. All this made the great period of discovery of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries possible. Printing, which made it possible to disseminate the knowledge gained by the first discoveries in the Western Hemisphere, and also the tales of adventure connected with them, gave an impetus to the exploring and colonizing movements of this era. The reading of books, and the spread by repetition from mouth to mouth of the wondrous tales, produced among the people an unrest, a desire for seeking the unknown, such as the world had never known and from which civilized mankind has never found repose. Every hamlet in Europe had its Ulysses either "roaming with a hungry heart," or longing "to sail beyond the sunset, and the baths of all the western stars."

The discovery of America and the finding of the new route to India hurled the nations of Europe into new conditions and opened up possibilities of immeasurable magnitude. The Mediterranean Sea, whose waters for centuries had carried all the fleets of the world, became but an inland lake, its blue undisturbed for four centuries except by the coasting craft or pleasure yacht, until the demands of commerce cut an outlet and once more the traffic from all parts of the globe was borne upon its bosom.

CHAPTER VIII.

PORTUGAL.

EXPLORATIONS.—The colonizing of the earliest times and of the middle ages stopped at the Pillars of Hercules, and here the wonderful era of modern times began. Portugal, the Lusitania of the Romans, was the first to break the charm of the Mediterranean. The Portuguese were a nation of seamen and navigators. Columbus served on the sea under the Portuguese flag for fourteen years, and received training in practical seamanship. How much of his geographical knowledge and of his inspiration he received from the same source, no one can tell. Prince Henry the Navigator, from 1425 until his death in 1460, devoted himself to the study of geography and navigation. He planned and sent out expeditions of his countrymen to explore the coast of Africa. Each expedition brought back some riches in the form of products secured from the natives of the islands and the mainland, as well as slaves which sold readily in the Lisbon market. All this, with the encouragement and aid of Prince Henry, served to keep up and fire a spirit of ambition, both personal and national. After the death of Prince Henry, the King kept sending expeditions, each one going a little farther than the last, until Diaz, in 1486, really found the Cape of Good Hope, and returned with the news that the land could be passed and the waters entered beyond. But before an expedition was sent out into the unknown waters, Columbus under Spain's patronage, had discovered land to the westward.[1]

[1] The first banner of an European power to be unfurled in the Western Hemisphere might have been that of Portugal had this nation had faith in Columbus and given him the aid he required. For Columbus loyally gave the country under whose flag he had served, the first opportunity to send out an expedition to find the western route to India. But Portugal did not listen to "Opportunity's single knock" and Spain claims for all time the distinction of finding the Western Continents. This is part of that strange marvelous fortune of the early centuries of Spain's national existence.

But Portugal, even with the marvelous discovery in the west, kept eyes and attention to the east and in 1498 Vasco da Gama after a voyage of thirteen months accomplished the long desired object of finding an eastward water route to India. Three years later, Cabral accidentally touched upon the shores of Brazil, but Portugal paid little attention to this western empire until a century and a half later.

EXTENT OF COLONIAL POSSESSIONS.—Portugal gained some colonizing experience by establishing colonies in the Canary Islands, in Madeira, and the trading posts on the African shores, but the Orient was the scene of the nation's real colonization.

Goa, in India, was captured and made the capital of the Portuguese Oriental possessions. This city retained its preëminence for a hundred years. Colonies were established at Macao in China, in Malakka, Ceylon, Sumatra, and the Spice Islands. So rapidly did the Portuguese push their explorations and colonization, that sixty years after Da Gama's voyage, or by the middle of the sixteenth century, they had a line of colonies from the Straits of Gibraltar to China. "This included the whole coast of Africa from Morocco around the Cape to the Red Sea; India from the mouth of the Indus to that of the Ganges; the richest islands of the Malay Archipelago, and a fortified station at the very gates of Canton. This takes no note of Brazil, a vast empire by itself." [2]

The entire commerce of supplying Europe with Oriental products was in the hands of the Portuguese, and Lisbon supplanted her old rival, Venice, as the western receiving point. The overland route had been practically abandoned in favor of the cheaper water route. Large numbers of Portuguese emigrated to the new colonies; no European nation that followed the Portuguese in the Orient has had so large a number of emigrants

KINDS OF COLONIES.—Portugal's colonies were in some measure route or communication colonies, but they were also exploitation colonies of the pure commercial class. No

[2] Poultney Bigelow: "Children of the Nations."

attempt was made to push the dominion inland or in any way to develop the resources agriculturally or industrially. The trading post or settlement was the center of a sphere of influence but it was purely for trade.

POLICY.—In dealing with the natives, Portugal's methods were very arbitrary, with the result that enmity and distrust were oftentimes aroused. Traders exacted their own terms, collected tribute, accepted gifts, and many times, without a shadow of excuse, seized property.

The Portuguese were traders as well as navigators. The primary aim of their colonies was trade. The fundamental principle of their colonial policy was monopoly. They held the belief that commercial supremacy could be maintained only by force of arms.

Portugal did not benefit by the disastrous experiences of her forerunners who had held the doctrine that commercial prosperity depends upon armed defense and can be promoted and maintained by harsh rules of monopoly. But it was less than a century ago that the nations that rose into power after Portugal began to comprehend the falsity of this doctrine.

Though commerce was the sole object, yet Portugal never made use of the chartered company; the Crown reserved the monopoly of trade. Unlike Venice, Lisbon did not distribute the wares which she received from the country's extensive colonial domain. Portugal left this important and profitable part of its commercial system to the other nations of Europe, being satisfied, apparently, to make its great port a receiving depot only. Such a business blunder can be explained only by the supposition that the nation was dazzled by the sudden wealth and prosperity and took no thought of what seemed to it the trifling side of trade. But viewed from the twentieth century, the blunder seems almost childish.

GOVERNMENT OF DEPENDENCIES.—In government, Portugal showed no liberality and little judgment. The colonies were ruled direct. The government was despotic and the Crown was never free from petty jealousy of colonial

officials. This is revealed by the fact that all colonial officials were appointed for short terms. The governor of the oriental colonies, residing at Goa, was appointed for a term of three years. Each governor realizing that in that time he could accomplish nothing in an administrative way, and that if he did it would excite only envy not approbation at the court, set about gaining as much private wealth as possible. The under officials followed in his steps. Thus a faithless, dishonest, and inefficient colonial administration resulted.

INFLUENCE.—One of the qualities of Portugal as a colonizer was that personally the Portuguese, in their intercourse with the natives, had the faculty of getting into very close personal relationship. But the most important factor of their influence was the introduction of new sources of food supply from one country to another. No other nation, ancient or modern, except Spain, can be compared with Portugal in this work. A writer on the subject says: "To Africa they brought, from China, India, and Malakka, the orange tree, the lemon and the lime, which besides introducing into Europe they planted in every part of east and west Africa where they touched. They likewise brought sugar cane from the East Indies and introduced it into various parts of Brazil and West Africa, especially into the islands of S. Thomé, Principe, and the Kongo and Angola countries. Madeira they had planted with vines in the fifteenth century; the Azores, the Cape Verde Islands, and St. Helena, with orange trees in the sixteenth century. From their great possessions in Brazil they brought to east and west Africa the muscovy duck, chili peppers, maize, tobacco, the tomato, yam, pineapple, sweet potato, manioc, ginger, and other less widely known forms of vegetable foods. The Portuguese also introduced the domestic pig into Africa, the domestic cat, and possibly also certain breeds of domesticated dogs. In east tropical Africa the horse is known in the north by an Arab name and in the center by a Portuguese word." It is beyond the range of the mind to estimate the far-reaching results, to mankind and to civilization, of this work of the Portuguese. The

economic value to Africa alone, in increasing and giving variety of food supply to millions of natives who even today have never heard of the white man; and in adding to the economic values of the continent, making it of more worth to mankind and to the world, is without measure. This, and the opening up of new routes and new lands is Portugal's contribution to posterity as a colonizer and makes it possible to say: "Portugal has, by its labors in distant lands, relatively accomplished for development of civilization, commerce, and navigation, more stupendous and enduring results than any other country."

CAUSES FOR DECLINE.—The underlying causes of Portugal's decline were within the nation itself. The country was in a measure depopulated by emigration to the distant colonies. True, such emigration takes the riffraff of a country, but it also takes the ambitious and enterprising. Portugal was not in any sense overpopulated and so could not stand the drain. This, and the mistake of neglecting industries at home, left the nation when the strain came, utterly unable to withstand it. Portugal labored under the fallacy that commerce alone will give national economic wealth and strength, forgetting that there must be something produced in the home country, either agriculturally or in the manufacturing line, to exchange. No people can exist on an import-carrying trade alone. In this import trade Portugal lost by not making Lisbon the distributing center for the wares brought from the various countries. As Venice had been, Lisbon should have been made the distributing trade center of Europe instead of a receiving depot only.

Portugal would not have lost colonial greatness so early, though with so erroneous a policy she could not long have endured, had she not lost her national liberty and become a province of Spain in 1580. With the conquest of Portugal, Spain gained control of all the Portuguese colonies but could not hold them, indeed, so occupied was Spain with her own possessions that she made little attempt to do so and the colonies became easy prey to other European powers with colonial ambition. So in 1640, when Portugal became an

independent power again, it was to find herself stripped of her extensive colonial dominion, only Goa, Macao, and Daman remaining in the East, and Brazil in the West.

PRESENT POSSESSIONS.[3]

Portugal has never regained anything like the domain and power of the early days. In the East, the possessions remain about as when the nation regained its liberty. Brazil has become a republic. But in Africa, Portugal has extended her dominion until with the Atlantic island colonies the nation, to-day, ranks fourth among the colonizing powers.

ISLANDS IN THE ATLANTIC:
- *Azores.*
- *Madeira.*
- *The Cape Verde.*
- *S. Thomé.*
- *Principe.*

AFRICA:
- *Portuguese Guinea.*
- *Angola.*
- *Portuguese East Africa.*

ASIA:
- In India—
  - *Goa.*
  - *Daman.*
  - *Diu Island.*
- In China—
  - *Macao.*
- In Malay Archipelago—
  - *Timor.*

Azores and *Madeira* are governed as a province of Portugal.

The Cape Verde Islands, fourteen in number, are administered by a governor appointed by the home government.

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[3] Statistics on "Present Possessions" of all the modern colonizing powers are taken from the "Statesman's Year-Book" (1911).

The Islands of S. Thomé and *Principe* constitute a province under a governor appointed by the home government.

Portuguese Guinea, on the coast of Senegambia, includes the adjacent archipelago of Bijagoz with the island of Bolama. It is administered by a governor.

Angola.—This possession is under a governor-general. It is divided into six districts.

Portuguese East Africa.—This province comprises territory directly administered by the state and territory under the administration of the Mozambique and Nyassa Companies.

The territory under the state is divided into five districts. There is a government council composed of officials and elected representatives of the commercial, industrial, and agricultural classes. There is also a provincial council. In each district there is a district council.

The Manica and Sofala regions are administered by the Mozambique Company which has a royal charter granting sovereign rights for fifty years from 1891. The Nyassa Company administers regions between the Rovuma, Lake Nyassa, and the Lurio.

Macao on an island of the same name and the two small adjacent islands of Taipa and Coloane, form a province.

Timor consists of the eastern part of the island of that name, with the territory of Ambeno and the island of Pulo-Cambing. This possession is governed as an independent district.

CHAPTER IX.

SPAIN.

GENERAL.—Spain, a region of colonial enterprise for Phœnicia, Carthage, Greece, and Rome, was destined in turn to send from its shores expeditions which brought under the flag of Spain a domain the extent and wealth of which makes the empires of the colonizing states of antiquity sink into insignificance.

For human romantic interest the colonial history of no modern nation can compare with that of Spain. The wealth and the vastness of the area which was under Spanish rule give a background to which the achievements of the daring, dashing, hardy Spaniard add the charm of romance. Mixed with the romance are stories of useless cruelty and unwise government. But the tale is almost ended; Spain's record of colonial history is almost complete. The first power to build up an empire beyond the seas, it is the only one whose career as an "over-sea" power is finished. There is an added interest to the student in that the end came within the memory of the present generation.

NATIONAL FOUNDATION AT THE BEGINNING OF COLONIAL CAREER.—In studying the colonial history of Spain, the interest does not lie so much, in the tales of conquest and glory, as in finding the causes for the policy pursued in the colonies, and noting the effect of this policy.

The rise of Spain to the place of the first power in Europe was the result of circumstances, rather than the result of the efforts of the Spanish nation itself. The great European empire of Charles V was not acquired by conquest or statesmanship, but by a series of fortunate matrimonial alliances; it was by accident or chance, rather than as the

result of any national effort that the first possessions of any European nation in the Western Hemisphere were under the Spanish flag. The explorations, conquests, and acquisitions of territory in the new world that followed the discovery of Columbus have no parallel in history, but they did not result from a gradual, healthy, national growth, but rather from a national and an individual greed for gold.

When Spain's history during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is considered, it is seen that the rank, the power of the nation, the achievements of her sons, could not have been the result of national development and strength but rather the result of rare good fortune and the personal qualities of individuals. For the union of Castile and Aragon had given the nation her beginning only three years before Columbus discovered America; so Spain was not a nation of people strongly bound together when her colonial career began. There was always internal discord, a condition that lasted long after the nation became a colonial power. During the centuries of the national formation of European countries and the establishment of power on the continent, Spain was a factor in all the struggles either as a participant or as a victim. The country was involved in a succession of wars; first, to maintain sovereignty over European possessions, then, when stripped of these, it was a fight to maintain existence as an independent nation. In addition to this struggle for political power and existence, Spain was the champion of the church against the heresy of the Protestant doctrines in the religious struggles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

All this was a constant drain on population and wealth, yet Spain's opportunities were so magnificent that permanent national greatness might have been achieved. Reading from the present into the past, the greatest weakness in Spain's foundation seems to have been the absence of common sense. No nation ever followed a more disastrous economic policy or tried more foolish economic experiments than Spain. This probably was due to the fact that during the whole era of modern history the nation has had no statesmen that can be called great, and her rulers, could not "dip into the future," could not, as rulers and

statesmen, be ranked as great,[1] though some have been earnest, faithful, and devoted to the country they ruled, and some have had administrative ability.

True the laws of the science of economics had not yet been evolved, but Spain learned little from the experience of other countries or from her own, and kept unwise regulations in force, long after changes in conditions called for their removal, and the laws passed controlling economic conditions were short-sighted and framed to relieve the existing conditions only. The wonder is not that Spain lost her colonial empire; the wonder is that she maintained and held it as long as she did. It was a gallant fight against odds that were great.

ECONOMIC POLICY.—From the days when Spain was a Phœnician colony, sheep raising had been one of the chief industries. With colonial expansion in the Americas came a demand for agricultural products, as the colonists expended their energies in seeking for, and mining gold and silver and paid little attention to the tilling of the soil. So a law was passed forbidding the conversion of arable land in Spain into sheep pastures. The demand of the colonies for manufactured articles stimulated manufacturing for a time. From 1525 to 1550 was an era of material prosperity for Spain. Gold and silver were coming from the colonies and the demands of the colonists for certain food supplies and manufactured articles were such that Charles V believed that the American trade was capable of great expansion. Added to the colonial demand was the increased European market which followed the increase of European intercourse. But as the national expansion of Spain had not been the result of gradual natural growth, the country was not ready to supply the demand of the available markets. For centuries the productive part of Spain's population had been the Moors, and the money of the country had been in the coffers of the Jews. But both infidel and Israelite had been driven from the country,

[1] The one possible exception, among the statesmen, was José Gálvez, president of the Council of the Indies and Prime Minister under Charles III.

leaving a sparse population untrained in habits of industry, and a scarcity of skilled craftsmen, and little or no capital, just at the time when the opportunity came to build up a strong industrial and commercial nation.

A stable, wise industrial policy might have done much to remedy these weaknesses but on the contrary every line of production was hampered. Just as agriculture was thriving, a law was passed forbidding any more lands being tilled, as it was wanted for sheep pasture to meet the demand for woolen cloth. Stringent laws on the manufacture of native cloths were enacted. Prices on the necessities of life were fixed by law; when a commodity was scarce the price was raised; the government stored up grain and competed, when the supply was limited, with private owners.

There was a continual inflow of gold and silver from the colonies to Spain, but usually a scarcity of currency and bullion was felt in the country, for little of the treasure was left in the commercial centers as the greater part of it passed into hands of the foreign merchants in payment for their merchandise. It was said that the colonies struggled to send gold to Spain only to supply other countries. Again and again the Cortes faced the scarcity by forbidding exportation of currency, in spite of the fact that the regulations never bettered the conditions.

"These economic mistakes of the Cortes and the fiscal oppression of the Crown, so apparent under Charles V, continued with exaggeration during successive reigns." Conditions were made worse as more and more land passed into the hands of the clergy and nobles and was practically exempt from taxation. The prosperity of manufacturing which had developed under the early part of the reign of Charles V was growing less; restrictions and the *alcabala* [2] had killed it. Soon, the condition was that almost all the industrial concerns in Spain were capitalized and controlled by Genoese or German capital. Even the harvests were gathered by French workmen who took their earnings back to France. With the exclusive market which Spain could

[2] Martin Hume: "Spain." "A tax on sale value of everything which changed hands by purchase."

command, the nation would have enjoyed an era of prosperity as great as her era of territorial expansion, had she fostered with wise regulations her manufacturing and the development of her natural resources. Instead, "through the centuries every economic heresy, every wrong-headed experiment, every foolish rostrum was allowed to work its worst upon national industries until they were ultimately strangled."

Philip II, as a financier, was even worse than his father. He raised money by forced loans, seizure of merchandise and coin from merchants, and by repudiating debts. Many plans were tried to improve conditions; attempts were made to stimulate industries by prohibiting the export of goods to America and by regulations and taxes which only hampered production and trade. The extravagance of the rich was curtailed by laws; precious metals were forbidden to be exported in any other form than coin.

All these futile attempts to revive national exhaustion, show the condition of the home country at the time when she controlled vast colonial domains, and throw light on the attitude toward, and practices in the colonies. Spain by the latter part of the sixteenth century, was without finances or resources, even though her European possessions had paid exorbitant sums into the national exchequer in the form of taxes, and the colonies had furnished an enormous amount of revenue in form of gold and silver. The last Cortes of Philip II officially told the King, that "no one has either money or credit and the country is completely desolated; commerce is killed by the *alcabala;* woolen manufacturing has fallen off four-fifths and in the principal cities most of the houses are closed and deserted." [3]

With little variation, Spain's industrial history repeats itself year after year; every remedy but the right one was tried; restrictions and the burden of taxes remained unchanged only in kind; the latter was made so heavy that the *alcabala,* in the seventeenth century, was as high as fourteen per cent. The financial straits to which the Gov-

[3] Hume: "Spain."

ernment was reduced is revealed by the petty schemes that were used to raise money, such as the law that the first floor of every house built, belonged to the King and must be redeemed from him by the owner. Conditions at this time are thus summed up by Hume, "By the middle of the seventeenth century no less than seventeen formerly prosperous industries had been driven out of Spain, especially those connected with metal working, cordage, and shipbuilding, whilst the national industries of weaving silks, fine fabrics, and linens, manufacturing of gloves, in which Spain had always been preëminent, were now merely a shadow of what they had been." To add to the financial burdens, only a portion of the collected revenues reached the treasury. In 1652, the King told the Cortes that out of ten million ducats revenue from Castile, only three million reached him, owing to corruption.

The first sensible efforts toward economic reform were made by Charles III in the last half of the eighteenth century. Taxes were reduced; the *alcabala* was made five per cent; experts in all lines of industry were encouraged by the Government to come to Spain and to establish industries. These reforms did much, but they came too late to save the foreign possessions.

This brief summing up of the industrial condition of Spain is necessary in order to understand the colonial history of the country. Struggling in blindness and ignorance for prosperity, striving to refill a treasury drained by the fight for European territory and for the church, her population, depleted by war and emigration, still idle, extravagant, and pleasure-loving and scornful of labor as a thing "low and base," the nation could not administer the affairs of her great colonial realm with wisdom or honesty. All the evils of the mother country were magnified in the colonies. So long as the treasure and tribute came, little real attention was given to the conduct of affairs. Spanish governors and officials, clerical and lay, plundered right and left, with little or no thought of benefit or good to the people whom they ruled, the main object being to get rich quickly and return to Spain. As at home, the handling of

the revenue was dishonest; out of four to six millions of dollars which were sent from America annually for the royal treasury, it is stated that less than one-fifth actually reached its destination, while one archbishop viceroy of Mexico sent not less than one million dollars to Spain on his own account.

COLONIES: Motives for Colonizing.—The rulers of Spain during the period of exploration and conquest were deeply religious. "The long wars which Spain waged against the Arabian Moors left a deep impress upon the national character. They made religion a thing of patriotism with the Spaniard."[4] So one of Spain's motives for subjugating the new lands was to carry the Christian religion to the natives; with the soldier, the conqueror, always was found the priest. This crusading zeal was intense. The second dominating motive was greed for wealth, especially for gold and silver. Glory of conquest and love of adventure also entered into the motives.

Extent.—In less than half a century, the extent of the possessions of Spain was little short of marvelous. The Spanish flag floated over all of Central America and South America except Brazil and Guiana; over Florida, Mexico, and a portion of the southwestern United States greater than the present State of California. The most important of the West India Islands were under Spanish rule as were the Canary Islands, the Philippine Islands, and numbers of other islands in the Pacific and Mediterranean. In Africa, several strongholds were held by Spain. What a realm to win and lose in four centuries!

Colonists.—In no way did the colonists from Spain fulfill the requirements for successful colonization. They were for the most part adventurers from the nobility, seekers after wealth to be amassed quickly without work, and then to be spent in Spain. They were not settlers in any sense, but mostly office holders and place seekers. At one time in Caracas there was one lawyer to every fifty people.

Policy in General.—Spain's policy in the colonies was such

[4] P. V. Myers: "General History."

as must follow from the policy and conditions in the home country and from the character of the colonists. This policy was arbitrary and short-sighted. In the eye of the law, the soil, including forests and mines, belonged to the King, even the minerals mined by the natives were confiscated. Agriculture was almost unknown in the earlier days, and later, progressive methods were not introduced. Spain's agricultural development at home has never been far in advance of that pursued in her colonies. In Spain, the tendency is toward living in cities and towns; so in the colonies, everything tended toward the building up of cities, and not toward settling the country; roads were few and in a wretched condition; bridges were almost unknown; there were few improvements made that would promote intercourse between different groups of colonists. "Divide to rule" was Spain's idea and was followed out, not only in doing nothing to make travel possible, but in encouraging and fostering in the colonies the provincial dislikes from home. As there was not any real national community of interests in Spain these dislikes and antipathies were strong, and the colonists in the different regions in the colonies were easily kept antagonistic. The people living by the sea hated, as enemies, the ones living inland. Many authorities assert that not a stone was left unturned to stir up discord among the colonists. This was done to prevent united effort in any protestations against governmental policy.

As the result of intermarriage with the natives a new race sprang up in the possessions of Spain in the Americas, which came to form the majority of the free population, exclusive of Indians. But this new race was virtually excluded from holding any offices or in any way participating in the affairs of the colony.

Missionaries.—As has been stated in naming the motives for Spanish colonization, the priest always went with the conqueror, and with every band of colonists. It is believed that the most beneficial work accomplished by Spain in her colonies was the work of the missionaries. In South America, their work among the natives can never be es-

timated. They were for a long time the only white colonists permitted to live among the Indians. In these mission settlements, the natives were taught agriculture, crude manufacturing, industries, something of municipal government, and the commerce and customs of civilization. Schools and churches were established. There were few tribes of natives on the mainland of South America and Central America that were not brought under the influence of the Spanish missionary.

Slavery.—The labor question from the first was a serious problem in the colonies. The colonists would not work even where the climate did not make it impossible. The Indians were forced to labor from the time of Columbus's first colonial establishment. As early as 1499, colonies were divided into *repartimientos.* This was a sort of feudal slavery. Four years later, Ferdinand and Isabela gave the government power to make the Indians work, but it must be for wages. Cannibals taken in warfare could be sold into slavery. This was the beginning of the enslaving of the Indian and of a tale of cruelty that blackens the pages of Spanish colonial history. Then the *encomienda* was introduced.[5] This system which gave the natives with the land, was in reality slavery on a big scale. "If the system of *repartimientos* was in effect serfdom or villenage, the system of *encomiendas* was unmitigated slavery. Such a cruel and destructive slavery has seldom if ever been known."[6] The Indians died by the thousands under the hardships, and from the effects of new unaccustomed conditions and environment. The mortality was so great that some estimate the loss of the native population to be millions before the middle of the sixteenth century, but this estimate probably exaggerates.

In 1542 in the New Laws of Charles V was this clause, "We order and command that henceforward for no cause whatever, whether of war, ransom or in any other manner, can any Indian be made slave." This stopped the spread

[5] The words "repartimientos" and "encomienda" are used synonymously by some writers.

[6] John Fiske: "Discovery of America."

of Indian slavery. It was a political measure rather than a humane one, for the King was always fearful of the power of his colonial governors. He feared their power with such large slaveholdings as some of them had and the importance this gave the colonists.

Las Casas, the first Bishop of Chiapa, one of the noblest men connected with Spanish colonization, in his "History of the Indies" has given a record of some of the brutal treatment of the Indian slaves by their Spanish masters. At the close of one chapter he writes: "Can it be that I really saw such things, or are they hideous dreams? Alas, they are not dreams, all this did I behold with my bodily mortal eyes." Las Casas is usually credited with the introduction of African slavery into the Spanish colonies in order to better the condition of the Indians. Fiske [7] does not agree with this but shows that Las Casas admitted that it might help the existing conditions as the Africans were better fitted for the labor than the Indians. Las Casas afterwards saw that the bringing of the African slaves but brought an evil greater even than the slavery of the Indians.

EFFECT OF COLONIAL POSSESSIONS ON SPAIN.—The colonial possessions of Spain placed the nation, until 1700 at least, as a first power in Europe, and the revenue of the precious metals from the colonies enabled the country to maintain this position. It is estimated, however, that the returns from well-directed manufacturing and commerce would have been far greater than the total amount of these colonial revenues; they were not adequate compensation for the neglect of industrial pursuits. This, taken with the effect of the stream of gold and silver from the colonies on the population of Spain in creating habits of idleness and extravagance, and turning the people into a nation of brokers rather than producers, and the effect on the government in influencing wrong and foolish industrial legislation, points to the conclusion that in the long run, the colonial possessions led to national decadence rather than to national greatness.

As to the drain on the population of Spain by the colonies,

[7] "Discovery of America."

authorities differ. Some maintain that able-bodied men left in such numbers as to greatly affect industry; others that the emigration laws were very strict, especially in preventing the productive class from leaving the country.

GOVERNMENT OF COLONIES.—The form of colonial government was that of direct administration. After 1503, the colonial affairs were under the Board of Indian Affairs. This body was afterwards known as the Casa de Contratación. This was a board of trade with judicial powers. It regulated the number of ships, bulk and value of freights, and received and distributed metals and merchandise from the colonies.

As a delegate representative of the Crown there was a viceroy in each colony of first rank, and a captain-general in colonies of the second rank. Too often, men of weak character were sent as viceroys and as captains-general, for the King was always manifestly afraid of the power of his colonial delegates. The power of the delegate was often curtailed by a council or "audiencia." There were many inferior officials so the governor or viceroy was far from being supreme. "The audiencia was a sort of supervisory board placed over the governor. Their chief duty was to report any misconduct or suspicious action on his part. They communicated directly with the crown and might, in case of necessity, give their instructions to the colonists." With these conditions there could not be harmony between the governor and this council.

In 1542, Charles V remodeled the Casa de Contratación so as to protect the interests of the Crown better and also to preserve order in the colonies. From the date of these New Laws, as they were called, Spanish misrule in the colonies becomes more evident. Previous to that date, the theory, and in general, the practice of Spain were abreast those of other powers.

The principal ends of these New Laws, were to force the colonist to share his colonial gains with the Government and to enfeeble the local administration, and yet these laws arose, in part, from the clamor of the colonists. Special provision was made in these laws for the protection of the

natives. It is said that no nation, by decrees, so well protected the natives in the colonies as Spain did. These laws also sought to make the colonists and the natives antagonistic to each other, but to attach each directly to the Crown.

In 1571, the Council of the Indies was made the supreme ruling power of the colonies under the King. Philip V, in the early part of the eighteenth century, stripped this council of many powers and distributed the colonial administration among five ministers. This caused much confusion, as the duties of each minister were not clearly defined, and colonial officials often received conflicting orders.

With the introduction of the *encomienda* system, Spain had in all her colonies a form of feudalism. This system was used to the greatest extent in the colonies on the continent where very large tracts of land and thousands of natives passed under the control of one man.

Unlike other colonizing powers, Spain seemed unable to follow the tendency of the times, much less to evolve new principles in the administration of her colonies. In the beginning of the nation's brilliant career the underlying principles were wrong and these same fundamentals remained unchanged at the close of the nineteenth century. Morris says of the government, "An abiding characteristic of the Spanish colonization from an administrative point of view, is the attempt to reproduce European methods in the New World and the persistent suspicion and distrust shown toward the colonists. A fully-developed form of rule was introduced among a simple and untutored people."

Merivale says, "The system of government by viceroys, captains-general, audiencias, and councils, with their various relations with each other, has been truly described as a complicated contrivance to render every part of the government a check on every other. The best governors found it impossible to carry into effect any scheme for the amelioration of society; the worst found it easy enough to enrich themselves and aggrandize their favorites."

Another writer, Lucas,[8] says: "They did not train the

[8] C. P. Lucas: "Historical Geography of the British Colonies."

colonies into self-government, they lost them as suddenly as they gained them, and left them to be as they are at the present day, a set of restless, unstable, and ill-organized communities."

COMMERCIAL POLICY.—"Commercial monopoly was carried to a greater extreme by Spain than by any other country of Europe, all foreigners being excluded from the Spanish Indies and the trade with the colonies being, until the middle of the eighteenth century, confined to a certain number of ships each year to a single Spanish port, first Seville and then subsequently Cadiz."[9] No other policy could be followed by a nation whose industries and finances were a series of experiments, made with no regard to past experience of nations or to accepted principles.

The harsh prohibitive laws and restrictive regulations in the colonies, all had their counterparts in the industrial and commercial laws at home, or were at least similar in unwise, useless harshness. Not only was agriculture not encouraged, but the colonists were prohibited raising all fruits and crops common in Spain. Colonial manufactures could not be sent to Spain.

The most tyrannical regulation was the one controlling the output of products from the colonies. Porto Bello was the commercial capital for the South American colonies and Vera Cruz for Mexico and Central America. To these ports the squadron of merchantmen, regulated in number and cargo by the Casa de Contratación, came with the Spanish cargoes, always less than the demand, in order to keep the supply limited, though manufacturing was languishing at home because of no market. To these colonial ports the colonists brought their products. Here again, an utter lack of business sense was shown, quite in keeping with so many of the regulations of the Cortes on home production. In order to keep down the prices paid the colonists for their products, there were never enough ships sent to carry all the cargo to Spain. This, in face of the fact that Spain had the whole of Europe as buyers for the tropical and subtropical products of which the nation had almost

[9] C. P. Lucas.

exclusive control. To add to the unreasonableness, the colonists were prohibited from disposing of their surplus products to any other buyers. Intercolonial trade was forbidden, and foreigners were not permitted under penalty of death to enter Spanish ports. Oftentimes the produce, brought at great expense and hardship from the interior, was a total loss. This again, shows the incapacity of the Spaniard to organize trade or to grasp commercial problems. With an empire producing raw material and wanting manufactured articles on one side of the ocean, and a producer and a market on the other side, prices, the number of ships, and the amount shipped were fixed by law and the surplus products were destroyed. It is said that the smuggling trade which these restrictions led to, contributed more to the development of South America than the regular trade. "Even at the beginning of the eighteenth century the contraband for the Spanish colonies had risen to the dignity of an institution and had attained a degree of regularity and of organization which the world has not known either before or since and the result for the colonies themselves was most happy. For the Spanish trade, on the other hand, this meant ruin." [10]

"The direct traffic of Spain in the New World had so diminished that in the eighteenth century, the number of ships which each year left our ports in cargo for American ports did not reach forty, while those of other nations passed the number of three hundred." [11] Less prohibitive regulations were not adopted before the eighteenth century. The first of the more liberal regulations was the opening of the ports to England, under restrictions, by the peace of Utrecht, then gradually other restrictions were removed.

Spain's mistakes both in commercial policy and government in the colonies are well summed up in the demands of Venezuela in 1810:

1. "Equality of rights of all citizens with those of the inhabitants of the mother country.

[10] A. G. Keller: "Colonization."

[11] Colmeiro, a Spanish authority quoted in Keller's "Colonization."

2. "Freedom of cultivating all products and manufactures.
3. "Freedom of importation and exportation from and to all Spanish and friendly harbors.
4. "Free trade between Spanish America and the Philippine Islands.
5. "Free trade between Spanish America and the possessions of Asia.
6. "The abolition of commercial monopolies, indemnification being taken by way of duties.
7. "The freedom of working the quicksilver mines.
8. "The reservation of one-half the public offices in South America for American-born citizens.
9. "The establishment of a junta in each capital to guarantee the execution of these reforms.
10. "The restoration of the Jesuits for the conversion and education of the Indians."

"This statement was in brief, the record of three centuries of misrule."[12]

CAUSES FOR DECLINE.—Summing up the causes for Spain's decline as a colonial power: (1) The Spanish were daring explorers and conquerors but not settlers or traders. (2) There was no slow growth and gradual development of resources as in the English colonies. (3) Industries in the mother country were prostrated by her unwise economic policy. (4) Commerce was destroyed by maintaining exclusive monopoly long after conditions which might have at one time warranted it had changed. As an illustration of the ruin of Spain's colonial commerce, in 1850 only one-eighth of the Cuban imports were from Spain and only two per cent of Cuba's export of sugar went to Spain. (5) The government of the colonies was despotic and corrupt, due largely to the character of the men sent out as officials. Little attempt was made to train the colonists in self-government. (6) Brilliant in conquest though Spain was, yet the nation did not have the requirements for a successful colonizing power when her possessions were first gained and these requirements were not developed later.

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[12] Morris: "History of Colonization."

LOSS OF COLONIES.—The close of the eighteenth century marked a great change in Europe, in the general policy of colonial government as well as in national government. No longer were colonies considered to exist only for the benefit of the mother country. Yet Spain's policy, though there were many beneficial reforms, remained fundamentally unchanged. Consequently, unrest and dissatisfaction prevailed in her colonies, especially in those on the American continents. The success of the English colonies in North America in gaining their independence, and the ideas spread abroad by the French Revolution, added to the rebellious attitude of the colonies toward the arbitrary government of Spain. Then, when (in 1808) Spain was invaded by Napoleon, and his brother Joseph placed on the throne, there was a decided revolt in the colonies against Spanish authority. At first, only redress of grievances, as the petition of Venezuela (page 90) expressed, was desired, and had wise and liberal concessions been made by Spain, the colonies might have been held. This was not done. Instead, an opposite course was followed, with the result that by 1824 the Spanish flag had disappeared from the South American Continent. "Fifteen independent republics embracing fifteen millions of her former subjects arose out of her empire."[18]

On the North American Continent, Louisiana had, by treaty, been ceded to France in 1800, and sold by that nation in 1803 to the United States. In 1819 Florida was sold to the United States, and in 1821 Mexico, and California as part of Mexico, established independence. This left no Spanish foothold in the North American Continent.

The plans of the Holy Alliance to aid Spain in holding her colonies were thwarted by James Monroe, President of the United States, declaring in 1823, in a message to Congress: "We owe it, therefore, in candor and to the amicable relation existing between the United States and those powers (the "Holy Alliance") to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to

[18] Myers.

any portion of this hemisphere, as dangerous to our peace and safety."

Almost no attention had been given to the Spanish insular possessions in the West Indies and in the Pacific, until after the loss of the American continental colonies, then efforts to make these island colonies of profit to the mother country were put forth. Some improvements in policy were made, yet the attempted reforms were often only decrees, and even if these decrees were wise and helpful, the enforcement was left too frequently to officials who were indifferent or inefficient.

As to the freedom of commerce, the policy of Spain in the West Indies was quite in line and at times in advance of that of the other European powers holding colonies in this group of islands. Yet so incompetently was everything connected with the administration managed that these island colonies, exceedingly rich in resources, were never prosperous. Poverty and oppression kept the population dissatisfied, and insurrection followed insurrection, until in 1898 the United States intervened, and as a result of this country's war with Spain, Cuba was freed and became a republic under the protection of the United States. The treaty which closed the Spanish-American War, ceded Porto Rico to the United States, and also the Philippine Islands and Guam. The other Pacific possessions, the Caroline Islands, Palos, and Marianas (except Guam), were sold to Germany and the flag of Spain no longer floated over any island of the Pacific.[14]

INFLUENCE.—Like Portugal, Spain also did an important work in carrying plants and animals useful to man into the newly-discovered regions, and added to the agricultural products of the Old World by taking to Europe useful plants found in the New World. The Spanish brought to the

[14] German interest became paramount in the Caroline Islands early in the present period of this nation's colonial activity. In 1885 the German flag was hoisted in the island of Yap, in the presence of two Spanish gunboats.

The Pope arbitrating on the matter, in 1886, declared the islands belonged to Spain, but gave special privileges to Germany.

Western Continent wheat, rye, rice, barley, chickpeas, lentils, and many varieties of beans as well as hemp, flax, and alfalfa. The records of some of the earliest comers tell of the planting of radishes, lettuce, cabbage, borage, carrots, eggplant, beets, spinach, cucumbers, pumpkins, melons, endives, and sugar cane, all these plants being new in America. The variety of food supplies for the colonist and the native was further increased by the introduction of many fruits from Europe as quinces, apples, apricots, pears, grapes, plums, figs, peaches, citrons, limes, olives, and some varieties of bananas from Guinea. Among the nuts brought, were the almond, chestnut, walnut, medlar, and jujube. They also brought herbs, as peppermint, rosemary, thyme, as well as many flowers. The introduction of the silkworm is also credited to the Spaniard. Columbus found the new land to be without animals useful for food and labor. So on his second voyage, cattle, goats, sheep, pigs, horses, and mules were part of his cargo. The great herds of wild horses that, not so long ago, roamed the plains of the western part of the United States were descendants of the horses brought by the Spanish colonists.

As early as 1500, the Spaniards had introduced into Europe from America the maize, tobacco, the sweet potato, tomato, avocado, papaya, and pineapple. They had given information about the properties of the cacao, coca, Peruvian bark, and other vegetable species before unknown in Europe. The tamarind and cassia fistule they had brought from Asia and a new variety of orange was later brought from the Philippines, while to the Philippines many plants and animals were brought from Mexico. This list is far from being a complete record of what Spain did for mankind along this line, it only suggests Spain's efforts and influence in this phase of economic work.

Spain's greatest influence, however, was on the native population of the territory which came under her dominion. Much was done toward civilizing the natives of the Spanish colonies. The Christian religion, something of government, and industrial pursuits were taught to a great majority of the natives for whom Spain was responsible. A new

race, the people of Spanish America was the result of the intermarrying of the Spanish with the natives. These are the most lasting results of Spain's influence as a colonizing power. Other European countries were benefitted at the time when Spain's colonies were the sources of the precious metals, but the real work of the nation was the spreading of its civilization and religion over so great a realm and to such a great number of human beings.

PRESENT POSSESSIONS.

Balearic Islands.
Canary Islands.

AFRICA:

North Coast, or Morocco—
Ceuta.
Alhucema Isles.
Melilla.

West Coast—
Rio de Oro and Adrar.
Spanish Guinea.
Fernando Po.
Annabom.
Corisco.
Great Elobey and Little Elobey.

The *Balearic Islands* and the *Canary Islands* are governed as part of Spain.

Rio de Oro and *Adrar* are under the governorship of the Canary Islands with a subgovernor resident at Rio de Oro.

Spain has given to France the right of preëmption in case of the sale of any of these African colonies or the adjacent islands.[15]

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[15] It is current report that in the Franco-German Moroccan treaty just concluded France has waived preëmption rights to Spanish African possessions in favor of Germany if that nation wishes to buy. (November, 1911.)

CHAPTER X.

THE NETHERLANDS.

THE CHARACTER OF THE DUTCH.—The Dutch were preëminently traders and fighters. They fought back the sea and literally made their little country. During the greater part of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they fought against the most powerful nation in Europe for freedom from political tyranny and for the right of freedom in religious belief. Their industry, thrift, business sense, and ability to grasp opportunities were such that, though Spain exacted heavy tribute during the period of her control, at the end of the sixteenth century, the Netherlands was the leading industrial nation in Europe and, commercially, the strongest power on the sea.

COMMERCIAL IMPORTANCE IN MEDIEVAL TIMES.—The colonizing municipalities of the middle ages, it will be remembered, all had concessions and warehouses in Ghent and Bruges. One of the Venetian squadrons went each year to the ports of the Netherlands. Besides this commerce by the sea, a large overland trade through Germany and Italy was maintained. After the decline of Venice, the Dutch ships went to Lisbon for their oriental merchandise and Antwerp and Amsterdam became the industrial and commercial centers instead of Ghent and Bruges.

Unlike Spain, when the opportunity for trade expansion and foreign possessions came, Holland was prepared. For the Dutch were an industrial people, producing a variety of manufactured articles. Textiles of many kinds, from delicate silks to heavy carpets, came from their looms; in metals, they were ready to supply wire or armor-plate; in glass manufacturing, they rivaled Venice; their tan-yards and

sugar refineries were the largest in Europe; their fishing industry and dairy products were a source of large revenue. The location of the country had developed a seafaring and shipbuilding people. "By the end of the sixteenth century more vessels were built in the docks of Holland than by all the shipbuilders in Europe besides."[1] As early as the time of Charles V Antwerp owned two thousand ships.

FIRST EFFORTS IN COLONIZING.—Spain, by harsh exclusion regulations against the Netherlands, gave the Dutch their opportunity for colonial expansion, or rather, forced it upon them. In 1580, when Portugal came under the dominion of Spain, the Netherlands was excluded from trading in any of the ports of the Peninsula. The Dutch had depended upon Lisbon for oriental merchandise which they distributed throughout northern Europe, and for raw materials for their manufactories. The overland route to the Orient was no longer practicable; but having a good merchant marine and being able to defend it, the Netherlanders did not hesitate in making the effort to get for themselves the necessary supply of raw materials for their manufactories. In 1595, the first fleet of Dutch ships, four in number, reached India; this was quickly followed by others. Holland learned the weakness of the Spanish control of Portugal's possessions in the East, and also the value, from a commercial point of view, of the great riches of the Orient. At the close of the sixteenth century, Holland had entered upon her career as a colonizing power in the Orient, making her first settlements in the Molukkas and in Java.

THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY: Why Organized.—From the first, the Dutch were successful in their East India commercial ventures, the very high profits realized more than making up for the frequent disasters. Spain's policy of arrogant exclusive monopoly had gained the ill will of the other European nations. This helped Holland to build up a trade, as these countries were only too glad to secure their eastern products from other than Spanish ports.

[1] Yeats.

But soon the trade became unsatisfactory to the merchants and to the Government of the Netherlands. Each trader thought only of his own immediate profit; close competition between the rival merchants increased the prices in the East and lowered them at home. The States-General urged that the guilds come to some agreement which should have the future of the trade for all concerned in view, but this counsel was not heeded and it was seen that action must be taken by the Government, so in 1602 the States-General passed a law under which the East Indian traders were formed into a single corporation.[2] This was the Dutch East India Company, a powerful chartered company, "one of the most remarkable corporations of all times."[3]

How Controlled.—The direction of the affairs of the company was given to a council of sixty men, residents of the Netherlands; the supreme managing board was composed of seventeen men appointed by the States-General. Batavia was made the capital and the governor-general, who was given military as well as civil jurisdiction, lived here, while subgovernors were established at Malakka, Ceylon, Banda, Amboyna, Makassar, the Cape of Good Hope, and in the Molukkas. All the officials and the employees were required to swear obedience to the company and allegiance to the States-General. The administration of the possessions, the supervision of all the business, the maintenance of the land and the naval forces, in short, all the public interests of the company were intrusted to the care of the officers and representatives of the corporation.

Powers.—To the company, by its charter, was granted the right to make war or peace with the princes of the Orient, to build fortresses, to maintain garrisons, to choose governors, to appoint civil and judicial officers. These powers in reality created a state within a state.

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[2] Keller: "Colonization." One argument used to secure the passing of this law, and to arouse enthusiasm among the people in buying shares in the corporation, was that not only would the maritime and commercial interests of the Netherlands be strengthened and made more prosperous but serious damage could be done to the old enemy, Spain, without cost to Holland.

[3] Clive Day: "Policy and Administration of the Dutch in Java."

Aim.—The one single aim and purpose of the company was commerce. Every colony founded had that end in view, and not expansion of national territory. To spread the Christian religion or to carry civilization to a barbarous people did not enter into its motives. Anything done along these lines was incidental. The main object was to "make Holland a market-place for the exchange of commodities both from the East and the West."

Exclusive privileges of trade had been granted the company and from the first to last its commerce was conducted on the principle of monopoly. To maintain the monopoly of the Dutch East Indies, meant war and the fighting of European nations greedy to share some of Holland's profits.

Methods.—The trade consisted in bringing the products of Holland's industries to the East and taking in return the tropical products, as spices, sugar, indigo, camphor, coffee, tea from China, and manufactured articles from all the civilized countries in the Orient. The method was to establish factories, or trading posts where the wares and products would be collected from the natives, by the agents. As a matter of fact, the company soon began to secure more commodities from "forced deliveries" than in the regular way at the factory.[4] These "forced deliveries" were supplies exacted from the natives as a sort of tribute or recognition of the supremacy of the company as ruler.

In time, the company undoubtedly extended its political power for commercial purposes. The more native organizations that were brought in contact with the company, the better for its prosperity, for the greater the supply from the "contingents" or "forced deliveries." The commodities demanded came to include most of the native products of commercial value. New products, which the company thought might be produced to advantage, were introduced and added to the variety of commodities. A Dutch official, who was in northeastern Java at the close of the eighteenth century describes as follows this system of securing products by "contingents": "According to a principle of the feudal system of government the land of the country is

[4] Day: "Policy and Administration of the Dutch in Java."

the property of the prince or landlord; and since the coast provinces have been ceded by the native princes to the company, it has the property right in the land there. This land, divided into districts, it makes over to regents, on conditions commonly called contracts, whereby these regents pledge themselves to furnish products, some for nothing and some for a fixed payment, as well as to do services, and in case of war to support the company with armed men. On the other hand these regents turn over the land again to the common Javanese, to cultivate it, and to pay over to themselves a part of the fruits and produce, that they may be able to supply their "contingents" to the company and support themselves." By this system the Dutch were able to secure commercial commodities far below market prices and without the expense of collecting the goods. All the work was done through the native organizations. This accounts, partly, for the great profits of the company.

Also when there was a demand in Europe for any commodity as for coffee—after its use had become customary—the company added to the production of this commodity in its colonies in the Orient, not by offering higher prices, but by demanding more as a "contingent." The business policy of the company when it had to compete in the open market in the East, was to buy at the highest prices and to always undersell in the European market. The gains of the company came not on the profits of one article but on the tremendous volume of the trade which it handled.

Policy.—During the first one hundred years of the company, its rules were very strict regarding employees. It demanded absolute obedience from them and forbade any participation in trade on personal account. It insisted, by regulations, on honest dealing in trading with the natives. Soon the Dutch had a reputation for truthfulness and honesty among the peoples of the Orient. The "forced deliveries" were not dishonest according to the standard of the company, it was not cheating or lying, but what it deemed a legitimate method. In the lives of the employees in the Orient, simplicity of living was insisted upon. This

was the policy which helped to make the corporation the most powerful commercial company then in existence.

Extent of Trade Area.—The Dutch made almost no attempt to establish factories on the mainland in the East, but confined themselves to the islands until they had control of a sea area equal to that of the Mediterranean. The principal colony was Java, although Sumatra and Celebes were sources of trading supplies. "By 1661, they had practically driven their Portuguese rivals out of the Indian seas, taken Mauritius and St. Helena, established factories on the shores of the Persian Gulf, in the capital of Ispahan, along the Malabar and Coromandel coasts of India, in Bengal, Burma, and Cochin China."[5] But the company did not limit its operations to the East Indies, its merchant ships pushed along the China coast and over to Japan, and it is said that the Chinese, as well as the Japanese welcomed the Dutch as deliverers from the Portuguese. Whether this be true or not, the company soon had most of the foreign trade of these countries.[6] The company's ships traded along the coast of Korea and pushed the Portuguese out of Formosa. They explored and traded on the coast of Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand, and made these known to the world. As a stopping place, a colony at the Cape of Good Hope had been established.

Growth and Prosperity.—With this vast area tributary to and practically under the exclusive control of the company, and considering the strict economy that was at first the practice in all its operations, and its methods of securing products, the marvelous growth and prosperity of the corporation is not surprising. At the end of thirteen years, it owned eight hundred armed vessels, had captured five

[5] Lucas: "Historical Geography of the British Colonies."

[6] In connection with this opening of trade with the Japanese, it is interesting to recall that during the two and one-half centuries of Japan's isolation, the Dutch were permitted to maintain their trading post, though subject to stringent rules, on the Island of Deshima in the Bay of Nagasaki.

hundred and forty-five ships, and paid its shareholders an annual dividend of from twenty to fifty per cent.[7]

Decline.—With the beginning of the eighteenth century there was a marked departure from the lines of the policy followed at first by the company, and the period of decadence began. The causes may be briefly stated. In the seventeenth century, when all was prosperous apparently, there were many losses and much criticism of the management by the shareholders, and possibly by the public. The conditions which prevailed in the earlier days of the company's supremacy changed. The monopoly could not be maintained against the whole of Europe. There was much unoccupied territory on the islands under the company's control, as in Java, where England and the other nations began to trade with the natives. This rivalry undoubtedly led the company to push its political tribute system further, in order to secure goods at such a cost as would enable it to sell at prices that would retain its control of the European market. In the long run the plan was disastrous, as it destroyed the sources of supply, for the motive for production had been removed. The company also forced introduction into the colonies of crops that were not always the best from an economic point of view.

The real cause of decline may be stated as bad administration, perfidy of the agents in the East, and mismanagement of affairs at home. There was no spirit of progress, the company did not keep pace with the times; it was outdistanced by its rivals; it kept up antiquated regulations, such as requiring all ships to go to Batavia, when rival ships were plying the waters untrammeled by such rules. These restrictions greatly hampered trade. Then extravagance instead of economy became the practice of the company; the standard of officials and employees was lowered; employees traded on their own personal account. In fact,

[7] Keller: "Colonization." "In the effort to keep up the early reputation of the company they (The Seventeen Directors) had been lavish in their dividends. They became unscrupulous as to the source of the dividends, and began to borrow money at high rates of interest in order to be able to declare them."

it would seem as though all the earlier standards and practices were deserted.

The company became so weakened and in such financial straits that finally, in 1798, it was abolished and its territorial holdings passed under the direct rule of the state.

Effect of the Company in the Orient.—The East India Company brought to the island possessions peace, ending the continual fighting among the native tribes; religion was not interfered with; slavery in direct form was not introduced—it was not needed. Industrially the methods practiced by the company were despotic and economically destructive. The Dutch were blind for a long time to the great advantages of any other products than spices, and as their enemy, Spain, in South America spent her energies getting gold, so the Dutch gave their energies to the spice trade, even after other nations had shown that profits in other tropical products were greater. The giving up of the fertile fields to money crops and leaving no fields or labor for the raising of the necessities of life, was one of the worst abuses of the company. Like the Spanish, the Dutch also destroyed the surplus production in order that the prices of the commodities might be kept up.

Effect of the Company on the Netherlands.—Financially, the company almost ruined the Netherlands. With all her industry, business sense, courage, and home resources, after nearly two centuries, the nation was a declining power. The first mistake in Holland's colonial policy was the creating of so strong a power within herself. The great mistake of the company was monopoly. Even in the face of the competition of England and France the old idea of monopoly was not abandoned. Hence, raw materials from the colonies did not go to the Netherlands in sufficient quantities to keep the manufacturing industries in a condition that enabled them to meet the increase of prices, taxes, and competition that came with industrial growth in Europe.

Another mistake was that the Dutch ascribed too much importance to their trade with the Indies. To foster this trade the shipping business by individuals and firms was hampered. This weakened Holland's maritime power.

There gradually spread among the steady-going conservative Dutch an uncertainty in business, an element of speculation which the oriental trade as conducted by the East India Company created. This together with the corrupt methods and the dishonest practices of the company affected the business atmosphere of the nation and caused a deterioration of commercial morals. Productive industry lost in character and quantity, because of the influence of the spirit of commercial gambling that pervaded the nation as a result of the speculations in the East. Also a certain impatience with former slow methods of acquiring wealth led to less interest and less efficiency in the productive industries. All these effects were most disastrous to the economic condition and financial strength of the nation. The later despotic policy of the company in the East must be counted also as a great factor in weakening the power of the Netherlands.

THE DUTCH IN THE ORIENT AFTER THE DISSOLUTION OF THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY.—The Netherlands faced a hard condition at the opening of the nineteenth century. England had gained the supremacy of the seas. Napoleon in 1806, in his distribution of the thrones of Europe, gave the sovereignty of Holland into his brother Louis's hands. A large part of the commerce of the Dutch had been gradually seized by the young republic across the Atlantic.

Earnest effort was made by the Government after the abolishment of the East India Company to retrieve the disasters in the Orient. Honest men of ability were sent out as governors and the purely mercantile idea was abandoned, and in the economic ideas, the future was taken into consideration, and not just the yearly output. Some attention was given to the improvement of the condition of the natives; there was a decided abandoning of the old idea that a colony exists solely for the benefit of the mother country. Little was accomplished, however, before the English captured the colonies.

The eastern dependencies remained under the control of England from 1811 to 1816, and Sir Stamford Raffles was made governor of the colonies. He inaugurated many reforms, substituting for the "forced deliveries" a land tax

based upon a certain percentage of the crops; abolished the corvée, monopolies, and restrictions on trade, and in many ways tried to bring about a better condition of things. His time was, of course, too short to accomplish much that was permanent.

The Culture System.—When European affairs were adjusted after the downfall of Napoleon, all the colonies of the Netherlands were restored to the nation, except Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope. When again in power, the Dutch concentrated most of their energies upon Java and parts of Sumatra.

The main question which faced the governor sent out to Java, was how to secure production of crops. The value of the soil as a resource was recognized, but how to get the natives to work and raise agricultural products was the problem. From 1798, the end of the control of the East India Company, to 1811, the beginning of the rule by the English, Daendels had been governor and he had introduced to some extent the culture system which was later worked out by Van den Bosch.

This system is one of the solutions of the labor problem in the tropics. It was based on the principle that all the land belonged to the government; as owner, the government went into farming on a big scale. It declared that in certain villages at least one-fifth of the soil should be planted with the crop ordered by the government, and that four-fifteenths of all the produce should be paid to the government. If the crop was one that required manufacturing at the place of cultivation, a director would be sent, and proper machinery would be set up, with the aid of advances of money made by the government to the director. The villagers would be compelled to deliver to the director, at the price fixed by the government, all their produce; the director, for the advance from the government, was bound to deliver to the government at a certain price, a certain quantity of the manufactured article. The result was enormous profits to the government, fair gains to the director, and a small profit to the villager. As to the last profit, authorities differ. Europeans were encouraged

to build the factories and storehouses, agriculture flourished, commerce increased; according to one writer,[8] the population increased tenfold during the half century that the culture system was in operation. In a few years, in many of the crops, as sugar and coffee, the output doubled.

But the principles were the same as those on which the East India Company had worked. In the culture system, labor was forced and strict monopoly was maintained. The government but repeated, in another form, the economic mistakes of the company; there was no real progress in the colony, though the material conditions were somewhat better.

The cultivator of the soil had the right of choice of crops taken from him arbitrarily. It was claimed that he would, by this forced labor, be taught habits of industry and also methods of cultivation. This could not be true. To teach habits of industry there must first be a motive created—this system killed motives instead of creating them. Only a small portion of the total area of Java was under the culture system, and the fact that the natives, when possible, left the areas where it was in force, is evidence of its unpopularity, at least. Every effort was made by the government to prevent free movement of labor, but the regulations were evaded by great numbers of the natives.

The difficulty the natives had in getting their products to the required places of delivery was a severe hardship worked by the system. There was no gradual development. So in the regions opened up, the government experimented in places as freely and as frequently as in crops, and the inconveniences and hardships fell upon the laborers.

The government required from fifty to seventy days of free labor a year. This corvée, or liability to free labor, was used in building roads, bridges, and public buildings. For a power to require almost one-seventh of a man's time for free or unpaid labor is manifestly unjust.

Since 1871, the system has gradually been relaxed and to-day is practically out of use and the land is being thrown

[8] E. R. Scidmore: "Java, the Garden of the East."

open to private cultivation. The corvée is no longer required, taxes being paid instead.

This culture system has been widely discussed. Some writers arrive at the conclusion that the system was not only good in its result for the Dutch, but also resulted in the best good possible for the native. It would seem that having the ulterior good of the native in view, the system, as it is based on forced labor, cannot be for his good. The fact that there has been an annual deficit instead of a handsome profit for Holland, since this system was abolished, leads to the conclusion that it was financially for the time being at least, of advantage to the ruling power; but colonies should not be held entirely for the benefit of the mother country, and this deficit would be evidence that neither the "forced deliveries" of the East India Company nor the "culture system" had entirely succeeded as methods of development, for it is acknowledged that Java is one of the most fertile spots on the globe and should, industrially yield rich returns.[9]

THE DUTCH IN THE WEST.—The Netherlands was ambitious to establish trade wherever possible, and in 1617, some merchants formed the West India Company. The company was given the exclusive right of trade for twenty-four years, on the west coast of Africa, on the east and west coasts of America, in the islands of the Pacific and in un-

[9] The tobacco monopoly (1781 to 1882) in the Philippines bears many points of resemblance to the culture system of Java. It was in force in the Island of Luzon only. The land was held to belong to the State. No crops except tobacco were allowed to be raised. Each family was forced to contract with the government to raise four thousand plants a year. If this amount was not raised, a fine was imposed. All the crop must be delivered to the State, not a leaf could be kept for personal use. The tobacco leaves were carefully sorted and only those of a certain quality were accepted and paid for. The grower, or native, was not permitted to keep the rejected leaves. They were burned. In the latter days of the monopoly, the natives were not paid cash but treasury notes, which speculators later bought up at enormous discounts. The evil effects of this tobacco monopoly system are to be seen, even to-day, in the tobacco regions of Luzon.

discovered lands in the southern oceans. All merchandise of the company was to enter the ports of Holland free of duty for a period of eight years.

This company's operations cannot in any way be compared with the work of the East India Company. It took possessions and established factories in some of the lesser unoccupied islands of the West Indies, the most important settlement being in Curaçao. The company took advantage of the period when Portugal was a dependency of Spain and established trading posts in the Portuguese possessions on the west coast of Africa, and in Brazil. In 1623, the colony of New Amsterdam was founded at the mouth of the Hudson River in North America. Little attention was paid to this colony, and in 1664 it was seized by the English. Portugal, on regaining its independence, soon drove the company out of Brazil.

The principal profits of the company were not from the colonies, as they were never of much importance, nor in legitimate trade, but in smuggling in the Spanish colonies and capturing the Spanish ships. In the West then, Holland's profits came from breaking Spain's monopoly and in the East in maintaining a monopoly of her own.

The acquisitions of the company were all gradually lost except Curaçao, and a few little islands. In 1674, as the company was in a bankrupt condition, the States-General dissolved it.

Through the efforts of another western company, the Surinam Company, Dutch Guiana was held under the jurisdiction of Holland from 1667, although since that time it has been lost and won three times. So in the colonizing of the West the Dutch played little part directly, although in the English colonies which later became the United States, their influence in the country and on its institutions is greater than is usually realized or than Holland is given credit for.

COLONIAL POLICY OF THE NETHERLANDS: In the Past.—"No people ever had so definite an aim in foreign and colonial policy as the Dutch, and none ever realized their

aim more completely. The monopolies of the Latin peoples were, as we have seen, almost entirely crown monopolies; the Dutch, on the other hand, committed their trade wholly to chartered companies. The system was at once ungenerous, oppressive, and unsound, but it had the merit of concentrating 'the private strength and wealth of the mercantile community.' "[10]

Enterprising as the Dutch were, they remained little more than traders, never emigrating in large numbers. The two parts of the world where they settled and colonized, the Cape of Good Hope and North America, passed into England's hands. Nor were they a governing race, in the truest sense, for they governed almost solely with the view of making a direct profit for the mother country.

At the Present Time.—The single aim of Holland's colonial policy is no longer that of commercial exploitation. Schools have been introduced and are being developed. The progress of the schools for a time was most unsatisfactory. Clive Day records that in Java, in 1903, the portion of the natives receiving instruction was very small, roughly, one in every five hundred of the total population. But since that date, through the introduction of the village schools, better results as to numbers of children attending, have been attained. The question of a common language in the schools is being overcome by permitting the natives to study the Dutch language. Other benefits of civilization, as religion and philanthropy, are being brought to the Malayan subjects of this nation, that in Europe has been always in the lead in culture as well as in industry.

The last quarter of a century has wrought many changes in the industrial system and in the standard of living among the natives in the Dutch colonies. The evils of two hundred years of rule on a wrong basis are being eradicated. With the gradual adoption of the twentieth-century idea that the colonies should be controlled for the ultimate good of the colony, the Netherlands will, doubtless, long remain one of the leading colonizing powers in the Orient.

[10] Lucas: "Historical Geography of the British Colonies."

GOVERNMENT OF COLONIES.—"The traveler returning from Java is likely to be asked by what he was most impressed, and he is tempted to answer that the most striking thing is, that the Dutch are there at all. This simple people, whose country is but a dot on the map of the world, has ruled for the last three centuries with admirable tenacity, this vast colonial empire of the Indian archipelago, which contains thirty-five million Malay-Javanese inhabitants, comprising islands as large as France."[11]

For political control, Java, including the Island of Madura, is divided into residencies, divisions, regencies, districts, and townships, or communes, as they are sometimes called. At the head of each regency and every minor division is placed a native chieftain; the higher positions are given to men of noble rank, as princes. These officials receive a salary and a certain proportion of the crops of the soil under their jurisdiction. They are responsible to the governor-general and form a complete local civil administration and police control. They allot the land and collect rents. There are twenty-two residencies, in each of which is a Dutch official known as the resident. He has several subordinates; he has the control, in a supervisory way, over all the affairs in his residency. Dutch appointees in the Indies must be educated in the colonial school at Delft.

The legislation regarding the colonies lies with the legislature of Holland and the sovereign. Except for the control of these the legislating of the governor-general is supreme. "The inhabitants of the dependencies are not consulted regarding legislation and no question of allowing them representation in the States-General has ever been raised."[12]

The policy of the Netherlands is to have the Dutch and the native associates closely affiliated in the exercise of the local administration of the government. To this tendency has been ascribed much of their success in government. In this system of government the colony is in no sense in-

[11] Leclercq.

[12] Alpheus Snow: "Administration of Dependencies."

dependent in government, nor is the government, even in semblance, responsible. It is an absolute government by the Government of Holland, represented by the governor-general. The organization leads the native to think that he is, to a great degree, self-governing, but in fact he is not. To quote Leclercq (1898): "The administration of the colonial possessions is exercised in the King's name by the Minister of the Colonies, and a detailed annual report is presented to the States-General on the condition of the colonies. The government in the Indies is vested in one man, the governor-general. He is commander of the land and sea forces of the Dutch East Indies. He exercises supreme control over the different plans of the general administration. He issues ordinances on all matters not regulated by royal decree, declares war, makes peace, concludes treaties with the native princes, and appoints civil and military employees. One of his important duties is the protection of the natives. He watches that no cession of land violates their rights, and issues rules and regulations relating to the government cultures; fixes the kind and extent of forced labor, and sees to the proper execution of all ordinances pertaining to this matter. He has the power of disciplining of all foreigners who disturb the public order."

Commenting upon the Dutch and their method of government, Reinsch says that: They are free from the rigid officialism and formal routine that embarrass the English, and are less overbearing in their behavior toward the natives and win their affection and trust to a much greater degree. "For the judicious management of the native populations, and for the molding of native institutions to the ends of a more enlightened policy, the Dutch colonial administration may serve as a model."[13]

INFLUENCE.—The chief influence of the Netherlands has been as a factor in diffusing civilization throughout the Orient, and in carrying to Europe the products and knowledge of the East, during the time when Portugal's power

[13] Reinsch: "World Politics."

was ruined in the East and the attention of the other nations was centered on the New World. In spite of the narrow commercial and economic policy, and of the many dark blots left by their methods during the three centuries of rule, the condition of the natives has been much improved, by the stopping of the tribal wars and many practices of savagery. On the whole, honesty, patience, good faith, and always religious tolerance have characterized the Dutch in their treatment of their subject people. In the two settlement colonies, New York and Cape Town, both ignored and soon lost, "the traveler marvels at the permanent impressions left by the early Dutch." This is especially true in architecture, and in the Cape Colony, the influence is evident in the language.

PRESENT POSSESSIONS.

EAST INDIES or NETHERLANDS-INDIA:
Java and Madura—
Outposts—
Sumatra.
Borneo (southern part).
Riau-Lingga (archipelago).
Banka.
Billiton.
Celebes.
Molukka (archipelago).
Sunda Islands.
New Guinea (western part).
Timor (southeastern part).

The chief executive of the Netherlands-India is the governor-general. He is assisted by a council of 5 members, partly legislative, partly advisory. The governor-general and members of the council are nominated by the sovereign. Outposts are administered by governors, residents, assistant-residents, and controleurs, according to the rank of the

colony. New Guinea belongs to the residency of Ternate, Molukka Islands.

DUTCH WEST INDIES:
Surinam or *Dutch Guiana.*
Curaçao (consists of six islands).

The executive authority of *Surinam* is a governor assisted by a council consisting of the governor, as president, a vice-president, and 3 members, all nominated by the sovereign. There is a representative body called the colonial states, chosen by electors for a term of six years.

Curaçao is governed by a governor assisted by a council of 4 members and a colonial council of 13 members. The governor and both councils are nominated by the sovereign. Each of the six islands, except Curaçao, has a resident official appointed by the sovereign.

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CHAPTER XI.

FRANCE.

GENERAL.—The colonial history of France shows many elements that should have made the nation eminently successful as a colonizer. The people have daring, courage, love of adventure, and enterprise. There were rulers of ability interested in acquiring and holding colonial possessions. Richelieu, Colbert, and Coligny were as earnest and enthusiastic in advocating the establishing of colonies in the new lands as Champlain and La Salle and others were in exploring them. There was not lacking ability, either in the foreign lands or in the council chambers at home, to push the expansion policy; yet, France's early colonial empire passed piece by piece, into the hands of her rival across the channel.

The political history of France in modern times partly explains this. From the early days of colonization under Francis I to the establishment of the Third Republic, France had few periods of peace; it was war after war, either offensive or defensive, with few long intervals between. There were the long and bitter religious struggles between the Catholics and Huguenots; the upheaval of the Revolution; then the attempts of Napoleon to conquer Europe. With the heavy drains of these wars upon the country there was little national wealth left to expend in the colonies, and not always very much attention, except to consider them as a source of revenue, because of more absorbing things at home; and so the bands of colonists that were holding empire for France were neglected or were held down by absurd rules which kept them weak.

Then the ambitions of France and of the advocates and

workers for expansion were far too great, far beyond the strength of France to carry out properly. Again, as a nation the people of France did not respond to colonizing, though the French can readily adapt themselves to another race, and to new regions and new conditions; but a Frenchman does not like to leave France either as an emigrant or to travel. The consequent lack of settlers greatly weakened the colonial possessions.

The colonial history of France is in two periods, before 1830 and since that date. During Napoleon's time France had lost all her foreign possessions by 1810. Two decades after that date, the nation realizing that for national power there must be colonial possessions, the second period began.

PRIOR TO 1830.—Although not famed as a seagoing people, as were the Dutch and the Portuguese, and later the English, still the French had explored along the African coast and had visited some of the islands of the Atlantic, as the Canaries, soon after the Portuguese, and, according to some authorities, even before, but internal religious troubles had prevented their taking advantage of these explorations.

IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE.

IN NORTH AMERICA.—By the middle of the sixteenth century, two futile attempts had been made to found colonies on the southeast coast of North America.

Explorations.—The people of the coast provinces of France were a fishing people and the explorations around Newfoundland awakened interest in the possibilities of the fishing industry in the New World. The furs brought to France by the early explorers created interest also in the fur trade. But it was seventy-four years from the time Cartier explored the St. Lawrence before the colony of Quebec was founded.

1534 } = 74 yrs
1608 }

On the American continent the French were great inland explorers; they were intrepid, dauntless, heroic in endurance. The accounts of the explorations and adventures which brought to the knowledge of the world the valleys of the St. Lawrence and of the Mississippi, and the area lying between them, read more like the legends of ancient

days than the events of modern times. It was a king's realm that these daring spirits gave their country, only to have another nation, another people, later grasp it from them. As Guizot says, "Everywhere in the western regions of the American continent, the footsteps of the French, either travelers or missionaries, preceded the boldest adventurers. It is the glory and misfortune of France always to lead the van in the march of civilization without having the wit to profit by the discoveries and sagacious boldness of her children. On the unknown roads which she has opened to the human mind and to human enterprise, she has often left the fruits to be gathered by nations less inventive and less able than she, but more persevering and less perturbed by a confusion of desires and an incessant renewal of hopes."

Motives for Colonizing.—The primary motive of France, in all colonial enterprises, was the acquisition of territory. The French did not seek for treasure as did the Spanish, or exploit commercially as did the Dutch, but their greed was for extensive areas. And in order to bring under control, nominal at least, all the regions from the Alleghenies to the Rockies and from the Gulf of Mexico north, England was to be kept on the narrow strip along the Atlantic, and Spain was not to come farther north than Florida and Mexico. The ambition was magnificent, but France was not powerful enough, nor rich enough, either in population or wealth, to support the ambition and to carry on, at the same time, her wars and to pass through revolutions in government.

Kinds of Colonies.—France attempted to establish settlement colonies, but for a long time they were little more than trading posts, and the settlers were mostly hunters, traders, and adventurers. Even later, they never had a population at all to be compared with the English colonies. Inducements were offered, but the disinclination of the French to emigrate and the local policy in the colonies always kept emigrants from coming, and the ones that did come were scattered over a vast area.

Chartered Companies.—No nation tried to use chartered

companies so extensively as did France. Many companies were organized, yet none ever became great or lasted any great length of time, as did the Dutch East India Company or the Hudson Bay Company. The charters granted to the French companies large tracts of land with the agreement that the companies would transport settlers and develop the resources of the country. The companies were given jurisdiction over the soil and settlers, sufficient for control and protection. The expenses and profits of the companies were to come from the sale of the lands. This did not yield sufficient revenue, so the Government granted these companies the monopoly of buying the products of the colonies and selling them in France.

As far as regulations and theory went, the French were as commercial in their colonizing policy—that is, in the founding of settlements—as the Dutch were, but in practice they were not. For the French as a people, were not traders. They had not the keen practical sense of the Hollanders, and by the higher classes in France, trade was held somewhat in scorn, while in Holland the best brains and blood of the country were engaged in commerce.

The French were better fitted to acquire territory than to develop it by patient untiring industry and attention to all the dull things which will build up a thriving trade. This is illustrated in the fur trade of Canada. The French early realized the value of this trade and had a century the start, but the Hudson Bay Company, coming in 1670, soon outstripped them in the extent of operations. The success of the Company was due not to better opportunities but to superior business ability.

Commercial Policy.—The destructive principle of monopoly was the controlling idea in the commerce of the colonies. The companies could regulate the trade absolutely, as to the amount imported and exported and the number of ships carrying the trade. Manufacturing was almost wholly forbidden, as the colonies could not manufacture any commodity that was made in France. The manufactured articles which they bought must be bought from France, if made in that country. The companies regulated

the prices arbitrarily, holding all European commodities at very high prices, and all colonial products away below what they should have brought, based upon the selling price in Europe. The immediate profits were great, but production was not stimulated and more than that, the colonists and the Indians were driven to illicit trading with the Dutch and English colonies as they got better prices there and fairer dealing. It is said that the harm done French commerce by this kind of trade, while not as great as that done Spanish commerce, was most disastrous.

Land System.—Besides the restrictions on production and commerce, another source of weakness in the colonies was the granting of large estates to individuals, and giving to these landholders, who ofttimes lived in France, certain privileges, as fishing and milling and some kinds of trade. This in reality, established a medieval feudal system and a landed aristocracy. As Parkman says, "The seignorial systems of Europe have never prospered in America." Successful colonization in America has never followed any land scheme, except that which gave the colonist the privilege of ownership of the land he tilled.

The Church.—Authorities agree that the church was a hindrance to the material prosperity of the French colonies on the continent. Though the French rulers had not the crusading zeal of Spain, the work of France among the American Indians may be compared most favorably with that of Spain. With the traders and settlers went the priests to work among the Indians, and their civilizing work among these people deserves the highest praise. But they made some harmful regulations; for example, with the idea of keeping the whites from the Indians, the priests forbade their trading with the colonists. This fostered the underhanded trading by the Indians with the colonists of the English and Dutch settlements, which later led to much trouble between the colonists of these countries and to the different alliances with the Indians. All this strife weakened the French settlements.

Government of the Colonies.—Politically the theory of government was not lacking in liberality, but in practice it

was quite despotic and inefficient. The colonial officials were constantly quarreling, and the colonists were never consulted in matters of government and rarely considered. Court favorites were often rewarded with colonial offices and corruption was not unknown.

Loss of Possessions on the Continent.—The restrictions on trade and the granting of large domains to single individuals, the domination of the church, and the unstable and unwise political administration, did not tend to induce immigration; and without settlers there could be little development of strength within the colonies, either in wealth or in numbers.

The colonial empire of France was too vast, even had the wisdom of her policy been greater. In the struggle with England, beginning in 1754, the weakness of the French colonies was soon apparent, and in 1763, the whole of the North American continental possessions passed from under the French flag. England received the Canadian territory, and Spain, by treaty, the Mississippi Valley or Louisiana.

IN SOUTH AMERICA: Brazil.—In 1556, Coligny attempted to found a colony in Brazil but the Portuguese soon drove the little settlement out.

Guiana.—The colonial powers of Europe, at the time of Spain's supremacy in the west, tried to strike at Spanish power through capturing the Spanish ships. The northeast coast of South America made a good base for action, hence the Dutch colony in Guiana, and later the English. But the first nation to establish a post here was France. In 1604, Richelieu chartered a company to trade in the valleys of the Orinoco and the Amazon. Neither the company nor the colony was very successful. In the first place, the company had not enough capital to develop a settlement in a region such as was granted it. The country was marshy, unhealthful, uninhabitable, and impassible. To remedy these conditions a great deal of work and expenditure of money in internal improvements was necessary. The company had not the ideas or the money for such development methods. The people of the colony, themselves accustomed to the paternal rule, at that time the

policy of France, were as individuals incapable of taking the initiative and accomplishing any amelioration of the conditions on their own account.

Here, as in Canada, large grants of land were made to individuals who had no idea of tilling the soil or of having it tilled. Neighboring colonies were making profits out of spices and coffee, but not the French. The lack of prosperity can be seen by the fact that when the Dutch capital, Paramaribo, had twenty thousand inhabitants, the French capital, Cayenne, had only five thousand.

After many unsuccessful schemes to make a prosperous colony, in 1809 Guiana came under British rule, but was restored again to France in 1814 and is to-day a French dependency.

IN THE WEST INDIES.—The most successful French colonies in the west, were in the West Indies. The climate and industries here attracted the French emigrants in greater numbers than in any of the other colonies of France. St. Christopher was accidentally found by a French buccaneer. From the colony established there, under a chartered company, the colonies of Martinique and Guadeloupe were settled.

As in the other colonies, the regulations on trade and industries were hampering. The great mistake was also made of raising only the export crops, as coffee, spices, and sugar. At first, the work on the plantations was done by white labor brought from France. Later, slave labor was introduced, and, as in other parts of the Western Hemisphere, became a curse. The slave trade was for years one of the profitable pursuits of the West India traders. They had almost the monopoly in supplying the Spanish colonies with African slaves. The treaty of Utrecht which gave England the exclusive right to the slave trade of the Spanish colonies, brought disaster to the French colonies.

As was the practice at that time, France required that all the products of the colonies should be sent to France. What the mother country could not consume could not be sold elsewhere. About the latter part of the seventeenth century, the island colonies produced one-third more sugar

than France could consume. The prices became ruinous. "By their own local competition and overpopulation, with a limited outlet the industries of the islands were ruined." Later, more liberal regulations were introduced and prosperity revived.

The Revolution dealt a severe blow to these colonies as it took away their only market. To add to the economic distress, the emancipation of the slaves in 1794 brought not only industrial ruin, but anarchy.

Compared with the colonies of the other nations in the West Indies the policy of France, in general, in these colonies, in the eighteenth century, was progressive. Their rule, politically, was very liberal, and faulty as were the economic ideas, still in some ways they were in advance of those of any of the other nations that had colonies in these islands. On the whole, the colonies had a wonderful prosperity, though the last one had passed into the hands of the English by 1810. They were restored afterwards.

IN THE EASTERN HEMISPHERE.

France did not confine her colonizing energy to the west. At the same time that the nation was trying to build up one empire in the lands unknown to civilization, she was striving to gain another in the lands of the old civilizations of the East.

IN THE EAST INDIES: The French East India Company.—During the first half of the seventeenth century, four East India companies were chartered by the French Government, but not one of them accomplished anything. Finally under Colbert's influence, the great French East India Company was organized in 1664.

Plan.—Like many of the colonizing schemes of the French, this corporation was on a magnificent scale, modeled after the Dutch East India Company, but with a larger capital, more privileges, and with larger plans of operation and of much greater profits than its model. "Every possible support, subsidy, and agreement was tendered or pledged in order to float this mammoth, but inherently weak organization." Advances were made by the Government to both

the company and the emigrants, as well as concessions to the latter, and exemption from taxes and from many duties for the former, but of no avail, the Government could not create the enthusiasm in the people which makes such ventures successful.

Rivals.—France was under a disadvantage in the East which had not existed in the West. Other nations were there before her; Portugal, Spain, Holland, had already made for themselves places of importance in the Orient; indeed, the time when the French company began to establish itself, was the time of Holland's greatest supremacy which England was just preparing to contest. It was real things that this company of vast plans and little else had to contend against.

First Attempts.—An attempt to take possession of Ceylon failed. Then the Grand Monarch listened to the appeal of a Greek adventurer to support him as King of Siam, receiving the promise of monopoly of Siam's trade as a reward. This comic opera act resulted in fighting with the European nations, which almost ended the career of France in the Orient.

India; Dupleix.—In the last part of the seventeenth century, Pondicherry was established as a French colony, and became the capital of the possessions of France in the Orient. On the mainland, the affairs of the company and of France prospered. The man connected with these successes of France in India, is Dupleix. Under his superintendency came success and the power of the company was extended over so large an area, that Dupleix was made governor-general.

Dupleix was a man of rare ability as an administrator. He secured the alliance of the Indian princes, placed them on their thrones and supported them there, thus making friends instead of enemies of the native rulers. He also organized the natives into companies of soldiers, incorporating them into the army of the company. In commercial affairs his ability was shown by the prosperity of the company. After the capture of Madras from the English, if France had not refused to send the aid that Dupleix asked

for, the French power under Dupleix might have defeated the English in India and the neighboring waters, and made India a French instead of an English dependency.[1]

An unfortunate personal quarrel with another French official in the East, and the ready ear of the French Government to listen to complaints, without troubling to investigate, led to the recall of Dupleix, the most able colonial official France ever sent out. Without question, England did much through diplomatic circles to stir up the trouble which led to the recall of Dupleix, for England recognized his ability far better than his own country did, and knew that with Dupleix out of India, France could soon be driven out. As proof of the wisdom of the plans of Dupleix, many of them were adopted by Clive.

Eastern Possessions Lost to England.—It is a remarkable thing that England and France should at the same time, on opposite sides of the globe, be waging war against each other for colonial possessions. As in the West, so in the East, the control of France was over a great area and was only a nominal control. France never dreamed that her dominion was ever to be questioned and so in no way was prepared for defense. In 1761, the capital surrendered to Clive. The hope of an empire in the East was gone. By the treaty of 1763, Pondicherry was restored; it was taken subsequently by the English four different times and as many times restored, the last time in the adjustment of 1815. Since that time it has remained under the control of the French.

The two prosperous colonies which were established on the islands of Mauritius and Reunion had passed by 1810 under the English flag; thus ended the gigantic schemes of Colbert and the great French East India Company.

IN AFRICA: Early Colonies.—The energies of the different companies which were chartered to carry on operations in Africa, were chiefly confined to the slave trade, there was little done in legitimate commerce. Senegal was the principal colony.

As in America, the French in Africa were characterized

[1] Malleson.

by love of adventure and of inland exploration. The most important work of the companies was in the exploration of the interior from which knowledge was gained of the country and of the native tribes. These African colonies fell into the hands of the English again and again, but in 1815 were finally restored to France.

Madagascar.—The French East India Company made an effort to plant a colony in the rich lands of Madagascar, but failure resulted from want of common sense and patience and the neglect of paying some attention to the practical side of things. Among the inducements offered immigrants was this, that the settler need not work, for he had only to make the negro do the labor. Writers agree that the difficulties to be overcome in Madagascar were no greater than the Dutch overcame in their eastern colonies.

WHY FRANCE LOST HER COLONIES.—The nation was too greedy for territorial acquisition. The wars and political upheavals of France prevented her from giving efficient aid to her colonies. France never successfully defended from attack one of her colonies. Hampering regulations of trade and production, adherence to the doctrine of monopoly, introduction of the feudal land system, lack of settlers, all prevented the growth of strong vigorous colonies. Politically the French made two mistakes; they tried to do too much and did not adopt a settled and reliable policy. "France was always divided between a policy of colonial extension and a policy of European conquest."[2]

SINCE 1830.—After the downfall of Napoleon and the restoration of the French monarchy, some of the colonial possessions of France were restored by England.

RESTORED COLONIES.

IN THE WEST.—The Islands of Martinique, Guadeloupe, and the dependencies of the latter, and the two small islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, near the Newfoundland fishing grounds, and Guiana came again under French rule.

The Conditions in these Colonies were far from being prosperous. Their industries had been injured by the loss

[2] Seeley: "Expansion of England."

of the one market to which they had been restricted. The period of control of the English had not been of long enough duration to bring about any material change.

The dependencies were, after being restored to France, controlled directly by the Crown. The day of the chartered company was over. Many reforms in trade regulations and in other lines were made, but the colonies were not especially prosperous. The immediate effect in the Antilles, of the freeing of the slaves was most disastrous, though later, of course, it was for the betterment of the colonies.

Changes in Commercial and Industrial Policy.—Trade restrictions were gradually removed until about 1861, "following the example of other countries, absolute freedom under any flag and with any people was decreed to all commerce." The day of restricting the trade of dependencies to the mother country was past. At the same time, France gave the colonies the privilege to vote their own customs laws, but placed the responsibility of self-defense upon them.

Industry began to be carried on, based on the principle of competition, consequently there was a stirring up among the planters and better methods were used. The Islanders were brought into competition with keen, wide-awake producers and traders, and were forced to meet them on their own grounds. Many more crops than sugar were cultivated, and for the first time in their history, the inhabitants of the islands began to grow garden vegetables. Though often suffering from a vegetable famine, and with the soil and climate of the island ideal for such crops, they had never grown them. This is a little thing, but it illustrates, to some extent, how the French colonists, taken up with big plans, neglected the little things which not only added to the comfort of the colonists but very materially to their prosperity.

Guiana never has been able to gain prosperity. The colony has never been able to live down the early reputation which it made. The dependency has been used as a sort of penal colony for the other West India colonies.

To the north, the little islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, valuable for their fishing, serve to remind France of the lost opportunities in this industry.

IN THE EAST: In the Indian Ocean.—Reunion and the three small islands Mayotte, Nossi-Bé, and Ste. Marie came back to France. Here, the same conditions and problems obtained, as in the Antilles and have been worked out in about the same way.

In **India**, only a few remnants of the former empire were restored. The old capital, Pondicherry, and Yanaon, Karikal, Mahé, and Chandernagor came again under French rule. It is only within the last quarter of a century that France has given much attention to the improvement or administration of these Indian dependencies.

THE NEW COLONIES.

Having conquered and lost in less than three centuries an empire in the New West and one in the Old East, nothing daunted, France took back from the hands of her ancient enemy the handful of bits of her lost empires, and began again to build up a new realm of colonial possessions. The old fascination of conquering unknown savages and bringing under her sway extensive areas seems to be still with France.

IN AFRICA.—As soon as conditions in France would warrant it, colonizing efforts were centered on Africa, the only continent left unconquered and unsettled.

Algeria, acquired by conquest after twenty-seven years of fighting, preceded by a longer period of disputes and treaties, was the first, and still is, the most important of French possessions in Africa. Here, France has accomplished the great work of bringing under her rule, and to quite an extent under her civilization, a people with a widely different civilization, and with an antagonistic religion; a people nomadic in habits, given to brigandage, and with industries and resources undeveloped.

The French at the present time, as well as in the earlier period, are not emigrants. In Algeria, the greater part of the colonists are from Spain and Italy. Here, as elsewhere, France has used her ability to bring aboriginal races into a condition of industry, and so the necessity for immigrants has not been so great of late years, though it would seem as though the oportunities offered were good. "There has

been a curious intermixture [in Algeria] between the French and native races and between these again and other European settlers. A remarkable degree of fusion between the elements is being brought about. Among the lower classes is springing up a jargon in which the Arabic, French, Italian, and Spanish languages are represented."[3]

Health conditions have been much improved by bettering sanitary conditions. Much has been done in the establishing of schools and in lines of philanthropy. Internal improvements have been carried on extensively. So successful has France been in Algeria that nations interested in the colonization of tropical and subtropical regions study the policy of the French in this dependency with much profit. Here, in colonizing, France has achieved her greatest success.

Tunis, as Algeria, had been under Turkish rule for more than three centuries. This rule was ofttimes little more than nominal. By 1869, the reigning bey, by his extravagance and dishonest ministry had brought the financial affairs of Tunis to such a pass, that the European powers had to interfere. The finances were put under a commission with representatives from England, Italy, and France. England took little interest in the matter, France increased her influence through getting control of internal improvements. At last it was seen that there must be a European protectorate established to insure peace and prosperity in the country. England withdrew, Italy could not object, and Tunis passed under French rule.

Madagascar.—Portugal, Holland, and England, each made weak attempts to found trading posts on the Island of Madagascar during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but the climate and the fighting natives offset the attractions of the fertility of the soil and other resources.

When England seized the islands belonging to France in the East, it was determined to drive this nation from the Indian Ocean, so the trading stations established by the French East India Company in Madagascar were captured.

On the restoration, in 1815, of some of the colonies of

[3] Sir Harry H. Johnston: "A History of the Colonization of Africa by Alien Races." (1898.)

France, Reunion was restored, but not Mauritius. From that date until 1886, when the island was ceded to France, England claimed, though not vigorously, that the French posts on Madagascar went with Mauritius; France kept mildly insisting that they went with Reunion. During this period of disputed claims, there was a series of petty quarrels with the native rulers and with individuals from other nations who would get concessions to which France objected, but nothing definite was pushed by anyone, until the German protectorate on the adjoining coast of Africa stirred the French to action, and a treaty was concluded establishing a French protectorate over the island. But this did not mean that the native rulers accepted the French. There were revolts until in 1895 an expedition was sent by France which succeeded in deposing the queen and her prime minister, and in 1896 the island was annexed to France as a colony.

West Africa.—France very early established, in a half-hearted way, a foothold in Senegal and other places along the West African coast. Little was done to extend this territory, until about the middle of the nineteenth century, when General Faidherbe was sent out to Senegal as governor-general. He was sent not from any special interest in the colony, but to shelve him politically; it proved a good thing for the man as well as for his country. General Faidherbe was a man of comprehension, sense, and great enterprise. After studying conditions and resources, he annexed many countries of the tribes along the upper Senegal, and further extended the territory of Senegal by the annexation of the territory on the coast as far as Portuguese Guinea and of that lying between Portuguese Guinea and Sierra Leone. The Franco-Prussian war stopped all activity in this line until the eighties.

Since that date, the French have been most ambitious. On the Guinea coast, they have annexed the Ivory Coast and Dahomey; toward the interior, in the desert, they have secured a recognized sphere of influence over the western half or more of the Sahara, making a continuous territory to Algeria and so to the Mediterranean.

In 1839, during Louis Philippe's reign, France had secured, by treaty with a chief, a footing on the Lower Guinea or Kongo Coast; little attention was paid to it until the revival of colonial interest in the eighties, then in the fervor of acquiring more territory, came the ambition to extend from this trading post claims to territory towards the north, and southward to the Kongo. While Stanley was exploring the lower Kongo region for King Leopold of Belgium, De Brazza was, for the French, exploring the hinterland of the French post on the coast and going overland as fast as he could to the Upper Kongo, making treaties with chiefs and taking possession of all the territory that he could. There was authority in a way, for this. The International African Association had created committees in each nation represented in the conference, to explore sections of Africa, and De Brazza was sent by the French committee.

The result of the work of De Brazza was that the Berlin Conference, 1884–85, agreed that France should have the greater part of the adjoining territory of the northern and western banks of the Kongo. France lost no time in pushing inland from this territory along the Ubangi River, northwest to Lake Chad, connecting the Kongo territory with the Sahara sphere of influence.

The major part of the northwest portion of Africa is under the flag of France. The interior French territory is continuous from the Kongo to the Mediterranean; a large part of the Atlantic seaboard from the Kongo to Algeria is French. This remarkable expansion of territory has been acquired not by the slow process of commercial development but rather by military expeditions and explorations. The climate is such in the greater part of the regions, that it is impossible for Europeans to live there. How much modern scientific sanitary methods can do to change this, remains to be seen. France, with her peculiar skill in dealing with the uncivilized peoples, may be able to succeed in these regions without more than a nominal number of white people. Beyond a doubt, a new territory with great possibilities has been acquired. The question is, will the nation be able to hold and develop it, will the present and future generations

of France succeed better than those of the past? Most authorities on the subject of colonization have confidence in the future of France as a colonizing power and believe that the success of the nation will be in Africa.

IN THE ORIENT: Indo-China.—An opportunity to again secure some power in the Orient came to the French in 1861, when the persecution of the French missionaries in Cochin China became so cruel that an expedition was sent to compel better treatment. When the affair was settled, France retained several provinces, giving the name Cochin China to them. Later Cambodia was included in the French territory; by subjugation, twenty years later, Anam was added; eight years later, Tonkin was seized, and Laos and a portion of Siam were annexed.

In China.—In 1898, China leased to France for ninety-nine years Kwangchow on the Lienchow peninsula opposite the Island of Hainan. In 1899, two islands at the entrance of the bay were included in this lease.

This very creditable slice of eastern territory with the restored establishments in India forms the possessions of France to-day in the Orient.

MINOR COLONIES.—Chiefly for coaling and naval stations and as route or communication colonies, France has several island possessions, acquired principally within the last sixty years. The most important of these possessions are in Australasia and Oceania.

COLONIAL POLICY AT THE PRESENT TIME.—"No nation or people gives more careful study to the theory of colonization or to methods of advancing colonial prosperity than the French. The public officials, the educational institutions, the economists, and the press follow with great care and discuss in much detail the condition of their colonies and the lessons to be drawn from the present conditions and the experiences of the past."[4]

There have been many changes from the old policy of paternalism, though France still represses and burdens her colonies with too much officialism, is too suspicious of officials, and changes them too often; consequently charges

[4] "Colonial Administration." (1903.)

of dishonest handling of public revenues are not uncommon. Leroy-Beaulieu says, that in one colony, out of one million francs revenue all but one hundred thousand francs went into the pockets of the officials.

France uses in all her colonies, and with satisfactory results, native troops, the idea first brought into practice by Dupleix in India.

Commercially, trade privileges are being substituted for trade restrictions. Many of the colonies are considered in trade, as "extension of the mother country."

The nation is expending in internal improvements in the colonies vast sums. The French regard the railroad as being an important civilizing influence, claiming that it not only makes transportation of products effective, but so changes conditions that the savage must change his methods and manner of living.

"The French nation has shown itself strangely susceptible to far-reaching projects and ideals far removed from mere gain."[5] But whether the nation has learned the lessons from the past well enough to be able to bring under real and not nominal control the large areas under the French flag in Africa, and hold all the other scattered dependencies, is a question that only the future can answer. Mueh will depend on whether the nation becomes involved in war or is torn by some internal political upheaval. Peace at home, and freeing the government of the colonies from useless red tape, and curbing the ambition for more territory would aid in insuring a success which France's courage and ideals merit, and which her beneficial influence in colonies warrants.

GOVERNMENT OF THE COLONIES[6]: Before the Revolution.— In 1778, when the question of the political relations of the colonies to the mother country was a burning question, a French statesman wrote of France's relation to her colonies as follows: "The Government of the French colonies is entirely in the hands of the King." The constitution and the laws of France were considered in force in the colonies, the King modifying them to suit local conditions.

[5] Bigelow: "Children of the Nations."

[6] Based on Snow's "Administration of Dependencies."

In the earliest period of colonization, this power of government by the King was exercised in the colonies through the chartered companies. As the charters granted to the companies by the King delegated to them governing power, the companies were directly subject to the laws of France as much as though all their business were carried on in the homeland. When the charters were not renewed, the King took over all the rights and powers that had been delegated to the company. As the cost of protecting the colonies was greater than though they were an integral part of the realm, it was thought just that this extra expense be met by indirectly taxing the colonists in the form of duties and imposts and trade restrictions.

When the development of the colonies justified it, they were given local councils similar to those in the provinces in France. The King and his council duly regarded the advice of these councils. The same writer referred to above, stated that these councils had the right to remonstrate against the ordinances of the King, one of the grounds being "that the proposed law would cause inconvenience." The government in plan, was liberal, and as a matter of fact, the dependencies of France were always loyal to the home country. The loss of the empire can in no way be attributed to the form of government. Snow says on this point: "The loss of the colonial empire was due to the weakness of France itself caused by the denial to the people of the expression of the popular will which had been allowed under the traditional constitution, and was not in the least degree due to the theory or practice in the administration of its dependencies."

After the Revolution.—The overthrow of the monarchy in France with the attendant complete revolution of ideas of government, made corresponding changes in the government of the colonies. The right to elect local parliaments was granted by Louis XVI to the provinces of France and the same year the right was given to the colonies in the West Indies. During the ten years which followed, when the principles of liberty, equality, and right of representation were so bitterly and so earnestly discussed and so many experiments tried in France, the colonies, especially in the

West Indies, kept clamoring for a full share in the government. The question of the rights of the negroes was settled in 1794 by the abolition of slavery.

The constitution of 1795 declared that "The French colonies are integral parts of the republic and subject to the same constitutional law. They shall be divided into departments." Girault, writing in 1895 on the effect of this policy of assimilation, says: "In spite of this the colonies made lively opposition to all measures which the assemblies adopted in relation to them. They accepted the advantages of assimilation, but they were unwilling to submit to its burdens. In fact, moreover, our colonies, altogether too far distant for the Revolutionary government to be able to make its will respected among them, passed through a period of trouble and confusion." This opinion is accepted by other writers.

There was a succession of changes of government in the colonies. In 1800, the new constitution provided that, "The régime of the French colonies shall be determined by special laws." In 1802, the rule of the colonies was delegated to Napoleon. The administrative ability of the Emperor grasped the conditions. He appointed a Colonial Council at Paris; this council was composed in part, of persons appointed by the French Government, and in part, by persons elected by the appointed legislatures of the colonies. France was convinced for all time that noncontiguous territory at a distance from the centralized government could not be ruled as an integral part of the whole. For the past century, the dependencies have been governed by special and particular administration differing from that of France.

Under the constitution of 1814, the administration of the dependencies passed into the hands of the executive. This was, with the changes incident to the changes of government, the condition under the constitution of 1852 which provided that "the Senate shall rule the constitution of Algeria and the colonies by action taken by the Senate alone as a deliberative and legislative body." The constitution of 1875 does not specifically cover the case of dependencies and the provision of 1852 is still in force.

The colonial governor is considered as the agent of the central government, and as such, is controlled in his movements by detailed directions from the colonial offices. He is responsible for the maintenance of law and order within the colony and with this end in view, controls the troops though they are directly under the command of a military officer. The governor establishes rules for the guidance of the officials in the different branches of the administration; has a general supervision of the finances of the colonies; promulgates the laws and decrees of the home government which apply to the colony under his administration; provides for the execution of the judgments of the courts, though he has no right to interfere with the administration of justice; is the diplomatic representative of his colony, and is often empowered to negotiate commercial or other conventions with neighboring countries.

"It is characteristic of the French system, which it shares with that of Spain, that colonial officials are very carefully watched by means of an elaborately organized inspection service."[7] So the governors are transferred every few years and do not have time to grasp the local situation and develop into strong executives independent in initiative.

Until 1894, when the office of the Minister for the Colonies was established, colonial affairs were under the different departments of the Republic. By the decree of the President, a colonial school was opened in 1889. This school is administered by the Minister for the Colonies and is partly public and partly private, being supported in part by grants made by France and by the colonies; and in part by private donations and legacies, and in part by tuition charges. "The school was at first intended to provide means of education for the natives of the colonies, but the demands made from that source were so few that it was transformed into a school for the training of young men for colonial service, retaining one section for the original use."[8]

To give some idea of the attitude of France toward her colonies to-day, the following quotations are given:

M. DeLanessan, at one time governor-general of Indo-

[7] Reinsch. [8] Reinsch: "Colonial Government."

China, a careful and experienced student of colonial administration, discussing the methods of his country in colonial affairs said: "It may be said that in the French colonial possessions very little regard has been shown for the interests of the native people. Our laws and codes ought to be introduced as little as possible, and each colony ought to have the right to adopt for itself a system of legislation adapted to the particular necessities of the country and the particular habits of the natives. If the people of the colonies are yet in a state of more or less distinct barbarism, the colonizing power is obliged to take in its hands the direction of its administrative affairs, but in doing so should make as much use as possible of the chiefs and the heads of the most important families in order to show its intention of not breaking with the local customs."

M. Boulanger, the First Minister for the Colonies, said in a report to the President of the Republic in 1894: "In the first place it is necessary to assure to our possessions an administration which is actuated by the highest sentiments of order, of justice, and of scrupulous equity which shall give the persons who immigrate into the colonies and to the natives a knowledge and understanding of their rights and respect for their duties, which shall let it be known to all the world that France, however far distant, purposes to exercise upon its colonies a moral and civilizing influence. It is important that the administration should be decentralized enough not to interfere with the initiative of the colonies and to prevent their free development, but is necessary that it should conserve the sovereign authority necessary to safeguard the general interests of the whole political organism composed of France and its dependencies."

PRESENT POSSESSIONS.

AMERICA:

Guiana.
Guadeloupe.
Martinique.
St. Pierre and *Miquelon.*

Guiana, a colony, is administered by a governor assisted by a privy council of 5 members. It has a council-general of 16 members and is represented in the French Parliament by a deputy.

Guadeloupe, a colony, includes five small island dependencies. It is under a governor and elected council and is represented by a senator and 2 deputies in the French Parliament.

Martinique, a colony, is under a governor and a general council. It is represented by a senator and 2 deputies.

St. Pierre and *Miquelon* are the largest islands of two groups. They are governed by an administrator assisted by a consultative council of administration and municipal councils.

EUROPE:

Andorra.

This is a republic in the Pyrenees. It is under the joint suzerainty of the French, and the Spanish Bishop of Urgel. It is governed by a council of 24 members elected for four years by the heads of families in each parish. A permanent delegate has charge of the interests of France in this republic.

AFRICA:

Algeria.
Tunis.
Madagascar.
Comoro Islands.
Reunion.
French Somali Coast.
French Kongo. (Upper Ubangi.)
French West Africa and the Sahara.
Senegal.
Upper Senegal-Niger.
French Guinea.
Ivory Coast.
Dahomey.

Algeria is not regarded as a colony, but as a part of France. The administration is under the authority of a

governor-general, assisted by a consultative council. The French Chambers have, alone, the right of legislating in Algeria, while such matters as do not come within the legislative power are regulated by decree of the President of France. Each department sends one senator and 2 deputies to the French Parliament. Since 1901, the budget of Algeria has been entirely distinct from that of France. The revenue comprises every sort of impost collected in the country, and the whole of civil disbursements are included under expenditures. The marine and war expenditures are still at the cost of France as is also the guarantees of interest on railroads up to 1926.

Tunis, a French protectorate, is ruled by Sidi Mohammed Ben Nasr Bey. The government is carried on under the direction of the French Foreign Office, which has a special department for Tunisian Affairs, under the control of a French minister resident-general who is also minister of foreign affairs, and a ministry of 9 heads of the departments, 7 of the ministers being French and 2 Tunisian. The country is divided into districts, the governors of which are French and the subordinate officials natives.

In *Madagascar,* a colony, the executive official is a governor-general. He is assisted by a consultative council of administration. The colony is partly under civil and partly under military administration. It has no elective assembly and is not represented in the French Parliament. In the local government, natives chosen by popular vote, are usually appointed in subordinate positions.

Comoro Islands and *Mayotte* are under the general government of Madagascar.

Reunion, a colony, is governed by a governor, assisted by a privy council and an elective council-general. It is represented in the French Parliament by a senator and 2 deputies.

The *French Somali Coast,* a protectorate, includes in its territory ports of Obok, Sagallo, Tajurah, and Djibouti. The government of the protectorate is administered by a governor and privy council.

French Kongo.—This territory is under a commissioner-general of the Kongo, assisted by a secretary-general and

a council of government. The three principal divisions of this territory have financial and administrative autonomy.

The whole of *French West Africa* and the *Sahara* is administered by a governor-general assisted by a secretary and council, the seat of general government being at Dakar, in Senegal. Each of the five colonies is under a lieutenant-governor.

Senegal, a colony, is represented in the French Parliament by a deputy.

Upper Senegal–Niger, a colony, includes, besides the valley of the Upper Senegal and two-thirds of the course of the Niger, the whole of the countries inclosed in the Great Bend and the Sahara to the Algerian sphere of influence. The former military territories, with the exception of the military territory of the Niger, are now under the civil administration of the colonies of the Upper Senegal-Niger.

ASIA:

French India—
- *Pondicherry.*
- *Karikal.*
- *Chandernagor.*
- *Mahé.*
- *Yanaon.*

French Indo-China—
- *Anam.*
- *Cambodia.*
- *Cochin China.*
- *Tonkin.*
- *Laos.*
- *Kwangchow* (leased from China).

In *French India* the names given above, are the chief towns in the dependencies. The governor resides at Pondicherry. There is an elective general council. The colony is represented in the French Parliament by one senator and one deputy.

In *Indo-China,* the five states as well as the leased territory from China, are under a governor-general assisted by a secretary-general. Each of the states has at its head an

official bearing the title of resident-superior or lieutenant-governor, according as the state is a protectorate or a direct French colony. Each state is subdivided into provinces and municipalities. Native kings are on the thrones of the protectorates of Anam, Cambodia, and Laos.

The colony of Cochin China is divided into twenty-one provinces. It has a colonial council of 18 members and is represented by a deputy in the French Parliament.

The territory of Kwangchow, leased from China in 1898, increased the following year by including two islands in the bay, was placed, in 1900, under the authority of the governor-general of Indo-China.

AUSTRALASIA AND OCEANIA:

New Caledonia and dependencies.
New Hebrides.
Society Islands.
Marquesas Islands.
Tuamotu Islands.
Gambier, Tubuai, and Rapa Islands.

New Caledonia, a colony, is administered by a governor, assisted by a privy council of 7 members, 5 being heads of departments and 2 appointed by the President of France. There is also an elective council-general.

New Hebrides, in accordance with the Anglo-French convention of 1906, are jointly administered by high commissioners of the King of England and the French Republic.

The other groups of French island dependencies scattered over the eastern Pacific are united to form one colony administered by a governor assisted by a privy council and administrative council.

CHAPTER XII.

ENGLAND.

PLACE AMONG COLONIZING POWERS.—The greatest empire of history is the British Empire. A power limited at one time to an area of 121,000 square miles, to-day holds in its possession one-fifth of the land surface of the globe and controls over 396,000,000 people. A marvelous achievement to be accomplished in three centuries!

The history of colonization of modern times, as in ancient and medieval, is the story of the rise and fall of powers. Portugal, Spain, Holland, France, in turn, each had its period of brilliancy, followed by failure, with a partial recovery in recent times by the two latter.

The struggle to overthrow the oppression of feudalism, the Hundred Years' War with France, the civil war between the Houses of York and Lancaster, and the bitter dissensions of the period of the Reformation, exhausted the English treasury, drained the country of men, and so occupied the attention of the rulers and the people of England that the nation entered the struggle for foreign possessions later than her contemporaries; but she profited, materially by their failures, and what was more important to her later success, learned the lesson taught by the loss of her first colonies in North America.

THE ENGLISH AS EXPLORERS.—It was not until 1527 that a truly English exploring expedition was sent out. Compared with the Portuguese or the Dutch or the French, the English were not, in early modern times, a seagoing people. During the first century of European explorations, England did comparatively little, almost nothing in regions

totally unknown. True, Drake circumnavigated the globe, but he was not the first to do this. The expedition in this early period that shows the most initiative was the attempt in 1553, to find a new route to India. Going northeast, the expedition reached Archangel and went on to Moscow. Later an Englishman, aroused by the reports of this exploring party, went to Moscow and on to Bokhara. As a result of the efforts of these men, England had in Bokhara a new source of oriental supplies, and it was found that a northeast overland route to India was impracticable.

It was not until the later periods that the English explorers brought lasting fame to their country and opened up opportunities for future power to the nation. The eighteenth century was almost ended before the voyages and explorations of Cook and Vancouver added to the world's knowledge of the west coast of the Americas, and the islands of the Pacific Ocean, and gave England a claim to great areas. It was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that the 29,000 miles of trail blazed by Livingstone through Africa added 1,000,000 square miles to the known world. It was only yesterday that Stanley, inspired by Livingstone's work, added immeasurably to civilized man's knowledge of the interior of the Dark Continent.

WHY ENGLAND BEGAN TO COLONIZE.—During the period of brilliant success in colonization by the other European powers, England's resources slowly developed; manufacturing improved under the influence of the skillful Huguenots and Flemish exiles; commerce gradually increased; the foundation for maritime supremacy was slowly but surely laid. That the country was far from being sluggish while apparently inactive in matters pertaining to the new regions, the literature of the Elizabethan age is evidence. The writings of the period reveal a keen interest in the New World and its wonders; yet at the close of Elizabeth's reign, over a century after Columbus gave the Western Continent to Europe, England had not even a trading post outside her own boundary, while Portugal's day was practically over, Holland had entered on its career in the Orient,

and Spain had not only extensive possessions on the American continent but also island possessions in the Pacific.

England had always received her commodities from the East through Lisbon and the Netherlands. When Lisbon was closed, England was no rival to Holland's ambition to succeed the Portuguese in the East; neither was the nation ambitious for territory as was France, nor greedy for gold as was Spain. When at last the period of English colonization in North America began, there seems to have been no impelling motive as in each of the other nations; rather it appears to have been the result of existing conditions and of the evolution of the nation.

Peace brought, as always after a war, a class of daring, dashing men unwilling to take up a humdrum life and the New World offered an outlet for their restless spirits. The population of England increased beyond the material development. This, coupled with an awakened interest in wool-growing, which led to the cutting out of tillage, threw many farmers out of employment and caused hard times, especially among the agricultural class. The tyranny of the ruling hand of the Stuarts was not so well gloved as that of the Tudors had been. The religious oppression was becoming harsher and more unbearable. These four things were the primary causes of the large emigration from England. They were the chief immediate causes of England's beginning to colonize.

IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE.

ON NORTH AMERICAN CONTINENT: First Colonies.—By exploration, England's claims in the New World were along the Atlantic seaboard, between the French territory on the north and the Spanish territory on the south. The attempts of Raleigh and Gilbert in the latter part of the sixteenth century to found colonies had been in this territory; one in Newfoundland and one in Virginia. The first permanent colony was in this same territory of Virginia. It was founded in 1607 under the authority of the London Company. The next colony was at Plymouth, in what is now Massachusetts, in 1620. After this date, colonies were estab-

lished from time to time, until 1732 when the last one was founded in Georgia.

The territory from Maine to Florida, from the coast to the Alleghenies and the Great Lakes was under the rule of England by virtue of occupation as settlers. These settlements, were grouped into thirteen separate colonies, each with a separate local organization, or government.

Kinds of Colonies.—Almost every colony was founded as a refuge for the oppressed; Massachusetts for the Puritans; Pennsylvania for the Quakers; Maryland for the Catholics; and Georgia for debtors. In a lesser degree, the other colonies were havens also. All were real settlement colonies. The colonists came, either to find a place where they could believe what they chose in regard to religion and could express that belief without restraint and without fear of punishment, or because they believed that the opportunities to secure the rewards for their labor were better than in England; or on the general principle of greater freedom politically as well as religiously and industrially.

Character of Colonists.—With the exception of the adventurers in the first settlement of Virginia, the colonists that came to North America were an ideal class to overcome hard conditions and settle a new region. As a rule, the Englishman has no aversion to work and is rather inclined to scorn the man who tries to secure wealth by any other means than honest toil. This was particularly true of these colonists, who for the most part were from the middle class, farmers, mechanics, and laborers, accustomed to habits of economy and industry. They were educated and believed in education, were religious, and accustomed on all questions of religion and politics, to thinking independently and were not afraid to express their opinions. They came to make homes for themselves, and with the idea that this New World would be their home and that of their children. What they earned was to be spent in the new land, and not saved and taken back to England to be spent. The men who left England for America were not gold seekers, not hunters and adventurers, not mere traders, but were hard-working,

practical, sober-minded men, in short, the type of men who do things.

Being builders of homes, the church and the school came with the colonists and were established and maintained by them.

The attractive conditions in the colonies because of prosperity and freedom from the persecutions at home, attracted large numbers of settlers. By 1763, the English colonies had a population of 1,500,000, while Canada had only 100,000, and by 1780, the population of the English colonies had increased to 3,000,000. In the character and number of the colonists, lay the strength and superiority of the English colonies over the French. As a factor of the success of the English colonies, the character of the colonists can not receive too much emphasis, for no colonies ever fulfilled the requirement of having successful settlement colonists more perfectly than they.

Policy of England toward the Colonies.—On the whole, the policy of England toward the colonies was to let them alone. This was not from indifference, but rather because of the principle of not interfering in local affairs, paternalism has never characterized the English rule. Then the attention of England was pretty well occupied during the seventeenth century with civil troubles, and during the eighteenth century with European wars. That the principal cause of these wars was colonial expansion, shows that England was not indifferent to the value of colonies. This letting alone by England was a fortunate thing for the colonies, as they were not hampered with all the petty, rigid rules which hindered the development and weakened the French colonies in Canada.

Though they were separated communities, still the colonies by many common interests, were gradually brought together. England did little to interfere with the growth of unity in the colonies; "divide to rule" was not the nation's policy though many English statesmen looked with disfavor upon the policy followed. The colonists had to provide their own defense against the Indians. This led to the first concerted action of the different communities. They had

also to protect themselves against their neighboring colonies, the French and, until the conquest of New Amsterdam, the Dutch.

Government of the Colonies.—Not one of the five colonizing powers of early modern times exercised so little direct political control over its colonies as did England. The colonists were left to make what laws they liked, so long as they enacted none contrary to the existing laws of England. They administered these laws, preserved order, and provided means for their own defense; they were more independent and freer from restraining regulations than when living in England, while their French neighbors were under much more rigid and irritating laws in the colonies than when living in France. The only thing which England did keep closely under supervision was trade.

When the first charter was granted the London Company in 1606, there was established in England, a Central Council to superintend the affairs of the dependencies. Such a council was in existence, though under different names, as long as the colonies were under English rule. These councils were, of course, subordinate to the King, and in a great measure consultative only. From 1670, most of the colonies kept agents in England to look after their affairs and represent them before the council. Oftentimes the same man acted as agent for more than one colony.

The colonies were established in different ways; Virginia was under a commercial company which was dissolved (1624); Plymouth Colony had a grant from another commercial company, the Plymouth Company, but the colony really settled on other lands; Massachusetts Bay Colony, which became the center of the colony of Massachusetts, was founded under a charter; Rhode Island was settled by emigrants from Massachusetts and was organized under a charter from the King, which was retained as the constitution of the State until 1842. Connecticut, a union of settlements of Massachusetts emigrants and the New Haven colony established under the King, was organized as a colony under the first written constitution known to history. The

charter granted to Connecticut in 1662 was simply a recognition by the King of this constitution. The State of Connecticut was governed under this constitution until 1818. New York and New Jersey were acquired by conquests granted by the King to proprietors. All the other colonies were originally some form of proprietary grants. Each of the colonies received authority from the King, through some form of contract between the King and the person or body of persons establishing the settlement. These charters or contracts gave the power to hold certain lands, to establish government and to make laws for their own regulation.

At the time of the Revolutionary War three forms of government existed in the colonies. (1) There were the colonies where the people elected the governors, as Rhode Island and Connecticut. These Fiske calls "Republican Colonies." (2) There were the colonies with the proprietary form of government where the governors were appointed by the hereditary proprietors, as in Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Delaware. (3) There were the royal provinces, in which the governor was appointed by the Crown, as Virginia, Georgia, New Jersey, New Hampshire, New York, Massachusetts, and the two Carolinas.

The principal difference in the government lay in the governors; in the first the governor represented the people; in the second he was agent for the proprietor; in the third, he was agent of the King.[1]

All the colonies had local legislative assemblies; these were not wholly democratic as the elective franchise was so limited. When there were three thousand settlers in Massachusetts, there were only three hundred freemen or voters.[2] Yet the assemblies were felt to be truly representative of the people, and doubtless were. The assembly constituted the lower house; the governor had an advisory council, and in nearly all the colonies, this council sat as the upper house of the legislative body.

One great advantage that the colonies had, was that the governing bodies lived in the colonies and not in the mother

[1] Fiske: "Government of the United States."
[2] Woodrow Wilson: "History of the United States."

country, hence they were familiar with local conditions. In the proprietary government, the administration was very liberal, though the proprietors were given sole rights. In Maryland the King did not even reserve the power of veto over the laws.

Commercial Policy.—"The American colonies had never been troubled by any attempts of English trading companies to monopolize their trade.[3] But England looked upon the colonies as for her benefit commercially. In this the policy was strict, at times even to the point of tyranny. "Every other advantage of freedom, political and religious, might be accorded the colonists provided that they tolerated the constant and firm supervision of their extra local traffic by the English Parliament. The dependencies were regarded as the sole source of supplies and as privileged markets."[4]

Beginning in the middle of the seventeenth century, several Navigation Acts regulating and restricting trade, were passed by Parliament; with each Act the monopoly became more restrictive.

The object of these laws was twofold; first, to make the colonies of material benefit to England, and second to strike a blow at Holland's shipping; hence, the principal regulations were that all products from the colonies must be sent to England; all manufactured products from Europe must come from England. Manufacturing, for export, in the colonies was forbidden. In this way England supplied herself with the much needed raw materials for her manufactures and by restricting manufacturing in the colonies, removed the danger of competition. Raw materials which England did not require could be sent to other markets. In 1764, to harm the countries of northern Europe, it was forbidden to send these surplus products north of Cape Finisterre. Holland's shipping was injured by the restrictions, that all goods must be shipped from the colonies in English bottoms and the ships must be manned by Englishmen; of course all imports would come from England in English ships. This regulation did no harm, rather the

[3] Snow: "Administration of Dependencies."
[4] Morris: "History of Colonization."

opposite, to the colonies. They had shipbuilding timber in abundance and could and did build ships cheaper than Holland could. These were English ships and the colonists were Englishmen, so the colonies, under this regulation, soon had a good merchant marine, especially for coastwise shipping. Later English shipbuilders became alarmed and the shipbuilding was restricted.

The right of England to pass laws regarding trade and commerce was never questioned by the colonists, though the Navigation Acts, when first passed, aroused resentment. Berkley said in 1671, "It is not lawful for us to carry a pipe stave or a barrel of corn to any place in Europe out of the King's dominion." But after a time, the colonists began to see that the laws worked no hardship on them. England saw to it that there were compensating restrictions. For example, it was forbidden to grow tobacco in England or to import it except from the colonies. This gave a sure market for the tobacco raised in the colonies with no competition. Goods from Europe imported into the colonies through England, were given a rebate of duty so that many commodities were sold cheaper in the colonies than in England; this was true of the tea which caused so much trouble just before the Revolution. Bounties were paid on several colonial products. As to the trade with the West Indies, the restrictions were never enforced, the laws were openly violated. As the commerce of the world was carried on at that time, the trade restrictions were probably for the benefit rather than the detriment of the colonies. Even the restrictions on manufacturing which seem so harsh did no harm. It was before the development of the colonies had reached the manufacturing stage. Franklin said, "No man who can have a piece of land of his own, sufficient by his labor to subsist his family in plenty, is poor enough to be a manufacturer and work for a master, hence while there is land enough in America for our people there can be no manufactures to any amount or value."

That the restrictive policy of monopoly pursued, while of no apparent or immediate harm to the colonies, is fundamentally wrong is shown by the trade between England and the colonies after the Revolution. Just before the

Revolution, the imports from Great Britain to the colonies averaged ₱30,000,000 a year. In 1784, the amount was ₱34,000,000. In 1806, ₱122,000,000 and since that date, trade between the countries has increased each year.

Prosperity of the Colonies.[5]—The three things which contributed greatly to the prosperous development of the colonies were the land system, the low rate of taxation, and the economical administration of the domestic affairs. The Crown made no claims to the soil; it belonged to the proprietor or company of people and the policy was to sell the land to the settlers, so every farmer could own his farm. Titles, protected by permanent records, gave assurance of undisturbed possession. There was no privileged class to whom large grants were given, no reserved and waste lands. Where agriculture was the principal industry, as it was in the American colonies, the liberal policy of encouraging and aiding settlers to secure farms did much in advancing the development of the colonies. This accounts for the spread of the colonists away from the original settlements, and although the expanding of the colonies was slow, they actually possessed the country as they went.

There was no tendency toward extravagance in the administration of affairs. The colonies had to care for their own affairs without aid from England, and were moderate in expenditure. The material development was such that the expenses were not a burden and extensive internal improvements were unnecessary owing to the geographical conditions.

The colonies were not taxed by the mother country for its support. England preferred that the colonies should indirectly, through trade and commerce, contribute to her prosperity. This was true up to the time just before the Revolution. The colonists prospered, and long before the Revolution, were living lives of comfort and dignity, such as men in the same walks of life were living in the homeland.

Causes Which Led to the Separation of the Colonies from

[5] Based on Morris's "History of Colonization."

England.—The Acts placing annoying restrictions upon the colonies for two decades or more preceding the Revolution are familiar facts of history. The feeling of the colonists about these Acts is told in the reply of Benjamin Franklin in 1766, when he was called before the bar of the House of Commons. In answer to the question, "What was the temper of the Americans before 1763?" he said, "The best in the world. They were held by a thread. They had not only a respect, but an affection, for Great Britain, for its people, its laws, its customs and manners, and even a fondness for its fashions that greatly increased the commerce." To the question, "And have they not the same respect for Parliament now?" he said, "No; it is greatly lessened." "To what cause is this owing?" "To restraints lately laid on their trade, the prohibition of making paper money among themselves, and then demanding a new and heavy tax by stamps, taking away at the same time trial by jury."

The real points of issue, the things for which the colonists made their stand, are expressed in the following extracts from the resolutions of Congress of July 31, 1775, relating to Lord North's Proposals: "We think the attempt unnecessary to raise upon us, by force or by threats, our proportional contributions to the common defence, when we all know, and themselves acknowledge, we have fully contributed whenever called upon to do so in the character of freemen.

"We are of the opinion that it is not just that the Colonies should be required to oblige themselves to other contributions while Great Britain possesses a monopoly of their trade. This of itself lays them under heavy contribution. To demand, therefore, additional aids in the form of a tax, is to demand the double of their equal proportion. If we are to contribute equally with the other parts of the Empire, let us, equally with them, enjoy free commerce with the whole world. But while the restrictions on our trade shut to us the resources of wealth, is it just that we should bear all other burdens equally with those to whom every resource is open?"

The final issue was that the colonies claimed that Great

Britain was a Federal Empire with a constitution supreme for Imperial purposes over the Constitution of Great Britain. Great Britain did not admit that the British Empire was a Federal Empire, and hence did not admit that there was a Constitution of the Empire supreme for Imperial purposes over the Constitution of Great Britain.[6] The result of the struggle over this issue was the independence of the colonies acknowledged by the treaty of Paris in 1783.

Hudson Bay Company.—The historic trading company connected with the colonizing of the North American continent is the Hudson Bay Company, organized in England in 1670. Its object was to colonize the territory explored by Frobisher and Hudson. The territory of the company extended from the frontier of Canada toward the north indefinitely and westward to the Pacific. The company gave much more attention to the development of the fur trade than to the actual settling of the country, but the opening up of the northern and western parts of the vast area of Canada is due to the efforts of this remarkable company. Its factories and traders penetrated to the far north and south almost as far as the boundary of California. The company's factors and traders made friends with the Indians and traded the products of England, such as clothing, food, firearms, and such implements as the Indians could be taught to use, for valuable furs. These, secured at a nominal cost and sold at a high price in Europe, gave the company enormous profits.

After an honorable and most successful career of two centuries, its privileges and possessions were relinquished to the Dominion of Canada in 1870, on payment of ₱3,000,000. As a private corporation it still carries on commerce in the northern and western parts of Canada. No other one factor contributed more to the early history of the great northwest of North America than this chartered company.

Canada.—The treaty of Paris in 1783, acknowledging the independence of the thirteen English colonies, did not

[6] Snow: "Administration of Dependencies."

close by any means the career of England as a colonial power in North America. The conquered French possessions in Canada, the adjoining islands, and the vast territory of the Hudson Bay Company were still left under the English flag.

During the Revolutionary War, the French settlers on the St. Lawrence River remained loyal to England. The liberal provisions of the Quebec Act, particularly those in regard to their religion, made them content. After the close of the war, many loyalists from the United States went to Canada. For the most part they settled in the regions north of Lake Ontario and not among the French. This English settlement was further increased by many English soldiers who, after the close of the war, preferred to stay in the New World. Colonists came in large numbers from England, adding to the colony until in half a century after the French territory was ceded to England, the population had increased sevenfold.

In 1791, Canada was organized into two provinces, Upper Canada, or the English settlement and Lower Canada, or the French settlement. Each province was under a governor and council appointed by the King, and a lower house elected by popular vote. This Government, which lasted for fifty years, was not satisfactory to either the French or English settlers and discontent existed in both provinces.

When the second American war with Great Britain threatened, England was wise enough to make such concessions as would keep the colonists loyal, and thus when the United States attacked Canada, there was no uprising against the mother country.

But later, unrest was again apparent, and so much so, that England, in 1838, sent Lord Durham to Canada to investigate conditions. The result of his memorable report was that the Canadian colonies were given a responsible government in 1846. This form of government, given for the first time to a colony, was not suddenly evolved, but was the result of experiments and many partial failures.

The fact that the laws of the provinces are subject to

revision by the Parliament of the Dominion, makes Canada the strongest federation in the world.[7]

There is no appeal from the Supreme Court of Canada, but the choice is given of appeal from the supreme courts of the provinces to either the Judicial Council of England or the Supreme Court of Canada. In this way, England does not entirely relinquish the power of hearing appeals from Canadian subjects.

In 1864, a movement was started which had in view the union of the English possessions in North America. After some delay Parliament granted the enabling Act under which the Dominion of Canada was formed. The new government was given the power to organize and admit to the Dominion new provinces. The possessions of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, were made part of the union. The expansion of Canada has been rapid. As development warranted, new provinces have been carved out of the great area purchased from the Hudson Bay Company; still there is left, in the area known as the Northwest Territory, land sufficient for several more provinces.

While the colony of Canada was always prosperous, yet its development was rather slow until the last half of the nineteenth century. The land question was not well handled; the French system hindered in Lower Canada, and in other parts many unsatisfactory experiments were made in disposing of the public domain. But after the purchase of the Hudson Bay Company territory, better laws were enacted for the opening up for settlement of the public lands.

During the first half of the century, England kept the restrictive Navigation Laws in force and prohibitive regulations on manufacturing. But these worked little hardship at first as the industrial development of Canada had not reached the manufacturing stage and England was the natural market for the Canadian products, which were raw materials, as furs, lumber, and agricultural products. But

[7] Reinsch: "Colonial Government."

with the establishment of responsible government came commercial independence. With the freedom of controlling trade began Canada's remarkable economic development to which the addition of the realm of the Hudson Bay Company gave a tremendous impetus. Most liberal inducements to settlers in these new regions were offered. These become more liberal each year. Canada seeks good immigrants for its agricultural regions and attracts them by generous treatment.

To-day Canada is a well-governed, prosperous, progressive colony intensely loyal to England. With great areas of rich agricultural land as yet untouched by plow, forests unmeasured, mines the wealth of which can not even be conjectured, waters on the east and on the west teeming with fish, the fur-bearing animals still yielding a princely income, Canada's future under its present strong government is assured. The Dominion stands as the best example that history has ever known of a settlement colony under a responsible government.

ISLANDS IN THE ATLANTIC: Newfoundland.—This island, from the days of early explorations, noted for its fishing resources became an English possession by the treaty of Utrecht in 1713. It was governed, until 1852, as a crown colony; in that year it was given a responsible government.

In the West Indies.—England obtained her share of the West Indies, mostly by taking them by force from other nations or by cession. The object at first, was the same as actuated the other nations, to have stations from which Spain's commerce could be harmed. The possessions came to be valued for their tropical products, the principal one of which was sugar. As in the other islands of this group belonging to European nations slavery was early introduced in the English West India colonies.[8]

In these island dependencies, England's trade policy was exclusive monopoly. She was slower than the other nations to remove these restrictions. After the United States became independent, England forbade all commerce with the

[8] Morris: "History of Colonization." "Cromwell used the Barbados as a place to send some of his captured enemies as slaves."

new republic. This was most disastrous to the prosperity of the islands, as the United States was their natural and near-by market, and commerce, in spite of all restrictions had always been active between the mainland and the islands. Canada, the new market, was much farther away, and the supplies of grains and other products used by the West Indies were not always abundantly produced in the early days in this northern possession. More than once, the island colonies suffered from famine because of this.[9]

The prosperity of the English insular colonies was greatly lessened by the increase of prosperity in Cuba. Jamaica, the leading island belonging to England could not compete with Cuba in the production of sugar, owing to richer soil of the Spanish possession and the scarcity of labor in the English colony. In 1807, slave trade was abolished by England. This cut off the supply of imported slaves. The production of sugar grew less and less until there was not enough to supply the demand of England. When the slaves were freed in 1834, this lowered the production still more. England maintained the tariff at home on sugar from other countries, though her colonies were not supplying her demands. In the two decades from 1820 to 1840, the trade restrictions as to the places from which the colonies could receive their commodities had been removed. As matters then stood, the colonies were receiving all the benefits, this led to revolution in economic ideas in England. Gradually the tariff on sugar was removed as was the corn tax. "The decade which gave responsible government to Canada is notable for the extinction of slavery and the overthrow of the old trade doctrines."[10]

As the freed slaves scattered out on the unoccupied tracts of land, they were forced to grow vegetables for their own subsistence. In time this led to a variety of

[9] It is interesting to note Canada's efforts at the present time to build up the trade between the West Indies and the Dominion. The Canadian Government gives substantial subsidies to the steamship lines running between the West Indies and Canada and all means are being used to encourage the exchange of products."

[10] Morris: "History of Colonization."

products to supplement the sugar industry and added to the prosperity of the islands.

In 1865, the colony of Jamaica surrendered its charter to the Queen, and the island was transformed into a crown colony; the other groups have since followed Jamaica's example.

Bermuda.—This colony in the mid-Atlantic has had a colonial career as mild as its climate. Its settlement dates back almost as early as that of Virginia. Its present form of government was instituted in 1620, the year after the meeting of the first representative assembly in America. Its trade is almost wholly with the United States.

ON SOUTH AMERICAN CONTINENT: British Guiana.—This colony established contemporaneously with those of the West Indies has little of special history. One peculiar thing about its population is, that almost half are East Indians. The Venezuela boundary dispute, a controversy of years between Great Britain and Venezuela, came to an issue in 1895. England refused to submit the question to arbitration. Grover Cleveland, President of the United States, basing his action on the Monroe Doctrine, interfered and secured England's consent to arbitration and the matter was settled.

The mention of the little dependency of *British Honduras* in Central America which was formed out of Belize and some added territory ends the list of England's colonies in the Western Hemisphere. All of these tropical and sub-tropical colonies in the West, once so important, are to-day quite insignificant when compared with Canada or the British possessions on the other side of the globe.

IN THE EASTERN HEMISPHERE.

ASIA.—England's whole attention was not confined to the Western Hemisphere during the time of her activity in colonizing on that hemisphere. Contemporaneously with the emigration of the first bands of settlers to North America, there was activity among the merchants of England, to secure some part of the profits resulting from trade direct with the Orient. Following the lead of Portugal, Holland, and France, India was the mercantile Mekka of the English.

India: *Not a Nation.*—"India is not a political name but a geographical expression." It is not a country inhabited by people of one race, one religion, one language. At the time of European invasion, it was not a nation at all, in that there was no feeling of unity such as comes from common blood, religion, and language. There was no national government; there was not even a federation. The country had had a succession of foreign invaders and foreign rulers for centuries. The people were accustomed to foreign domination and had none of the bitter resentment of a people whose land had never known a conqueror. There was no national resistance as there was no unity; there was only provincial pride, rivalry, and strife. So to the European conqueror there was no resistance as a people. As Professor Seeley so forcibly states, "India was conquered by her own inhabitants directed by the military discipline of Europe."

The story of India in colonization really begins in the eighteenth century. At the beginning of the century, the ruler of the Mogul Empire died. There was no strong successor. As was the custom under such circumstances, the Empire was in a condition of anarchy. Indian potentates and adventurers were after their share of the spoils. "The Mogul Empire lay on the ground waiting to be picked up by somebody. It is not surprising that a mercantile corporation which had money to pay a mercenary force should be able to compete." [11]

The conquest of India does not then mean the overthrow of a political power or the subjugation of a people of a nation, neither does it mean the subjugation, annihilation, amalgamation, or civilization of a barbarous or semibarbarous people, for the civilization of the majority of the inhabitants of India is traced back to the twilight of the morning of history. These conditions which are only suggested here, give India its peculiar place in the history of colonization.

The East India Company.—England's motive at first in all activities in the Orient was purely commercial. Politics

[11] Seeley: "Expansion of England."

and religion, which were such powerful factors in the American colonies, played no part as impelling forces in her colonizing career in the East.

As the aim of England in the East was mercantile, the chartered company was the logical means used to accomplish that end. In 1600, the East India Company was organized. The charter granted it exclusive monopoly for fifteen years, and no other similar corporation was to be chartered.

The principle of evolution is evident in the progress of English institutions. This is seen in a small way in the East India Company. Its powers at first were limited; it was a century before it had the almost sovereign powers which history associates with its name. From the beginning, it built and equipped its own ships; later, it was given the right to control its own employees abroad and to declare and carry on war against the non-Christian states. Through the instrumentality of this corporation, England's foothold and power in India were established and held until the middle of the nineteenth century.

At the end of the first quarter of a century of its existence the company had not gained much ground in the East. The first post on the mainland was on the present site of Madras. The company bought a little village here, and in 1639 established a trading post. This was the beginning of English power in India. Finding it too expensive to compete with Holland, the company early gave up the spice trade and limited its operations to the mainland. Later, permission was obtained from the natives to establish posts in Cochin China, China, and on the islands of Formosa, Borneo, Java, and Sumatra.

The policy of the company was that of conquest by military power. Under the pretense of protecting the natives from the Dutch, posts were built and towns were fortified. The policy was to drive out the three rivals, the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the French, and to push control over the natives by enlarging the territory of the company as fast as possible. The first two competitors were soon out of the field so far as the mainland was concerned. The hard struggle was with the old enemy, France.

The peace of 1763, which left England supreme in India,

and ended French colonial power in America, was the end of a century's struggle between France and England for colonial empire. Using political conditions in Europe as an excuse for war, the real fight was for dominion in the East and in the West. This explains in part the willingness of the French to aid the colonists in the American Revolution. The work of Dupleix, and the mistake of the French in not supporting him, have been noted in the preceding chapter. The East India Company had the good sense to make, as the foundation of its policy, the ideas of Dupleix, in using native troops and of putting native princes on the thrones of petty kingdoms and supporting them there. From this policy, the company never departed. In a great measure France conquered India for England.

This company is charged with many harsh acts of extortion and with cruel oppression of a weaker people. The charges have never been disproven. The instructions to the representative in his capacity of governor, would seem to have been "get the wealth of the Indies, dividends we must have, make profits, and no one will ask how." This tale is too long to be told here. As the Parliament always, by the terms of the charter, was supreme over the company, the final responsibility must rest with this governing body.

With the period of expansion of the power of the company must always be connected the names of Robert Clive who defeated the French, and Warren Hastings and Lord Cornwallis, the first governors. With the name of Wellesley is connected a rapid expansion of power. His policy was to institute political control over a native state as soon as it was in any sense subjugated.

Prosperity and power are always connected with the name of the British East India Company, yet it was usually heavily in debt; the drain on its revenues was enormous; it was organized for trade, but the Indian trade developed after its dissolution. This was because it was a monopoly. Free competition brought the increase of trade. In 1767, after one hundred and sixty-seven years' work, the company controlled in India only Bengal, and a narrow strip of the east coast, and Madras, and Bombay.

Direct benefits were received by England, in the form

of large sums of money, as loans, when new charters were granted or privileges were renewed. A certain percentage of the profits was also taken. In 1767 "The company agreed to pay the government annually 400,000 pounds sterling, as rental for the East Indian customs. At the same time, there are records which show that the corporation was secretly paying public functionaries and members of Parliament considerable sums in order to gain their support." [12]

The political powers of the company were gradually taken from it and assumed by Parliament. The expenses of protection were still borne by the company. The financial condition grew worse and worse. For three-quarters of a century there had been public criticism and denunciation of the company and its methods, and of the Government, as responsible, so far as it permitted and possibly condoned the offenses. In 1858, an Act of Parliament provided that all the territories heretofore under the government of the company are invested in the British Queen. This really closed the career of the great company. In the work set it to do and in the expansion of English power, the achievements of this company were remarkable.

Administration.—Since 1858, the administration of India has been regulated by Acts of Parliament. In 1877, the ruler of England was declared Emperor of India. To consider India as being a colony in the sense that Canada is a colony is wrong. History offer no parallel to the relations existing between England and India. This being true the problems that England has met and is still meeting in connection with India are many and complex. The government by which the population of nearly three hundred million people are ruled to-day is the result of evolution.

As to the expenditures for government, England has followed the policy that the country must pay for its own government and to a great extent for its defense. Comparatively few British troops are sustained in India. The revenues are derived principally from taxes on land.

The principal burden on England, aside from the problem

[12] Mill.

of control, is that holding India involves the nation in more difficulties in her foreign relations than she would otherwise have and adds greatly to her responsibility in maintaining these relations. Her old enemy, France, was defeated in India, but the new responsibilities in the East brought England in antagonistic relations with a new European foe, Russia.

Trade with India has increased enormously since the dissolution of the East India Company. Internal improvements such as roads, railroads, telegraph, and harbor improvements have been carried on extensively. Economic conditions have greatly improved with better transportation facilities and irrigation works. These may in time make the terrible famines of the past impossible. Improvement of health conditions are hindered by the ignorance and superstition of the people, but much has been done in the prevention of the disease scourges of the past.

In the matter of the religion of the natives, the policy has been not to interfere. However, Christian missionaries have been given protection. Education has been fostered; natives are eligible to competitive examination for civil service. To quote an English writer, "We are in India now as rulers, the right upon which we rely as a reasonable justification for being there is the right of doing good by ruling."

Afghanistan.—This country is a frontier protectorate under English rule. The Ameer of Afghanistan is maintained in his position against foreign invasion and rebellion of his subjects and is paid an annual contribution by the Indian government.

In 1907, a treaty between England and Russia was signed by which England agrees neither to annex nor occupy any portion of Afghanistan, provided that the Ameer keeps his compact with the English Government. Russia declares that Afghanistan is outside of the Russian sphere of influence and that her political relations with Afghanistan shall be conducted through the British Government. Equal commercial opportunities shall be observed.

The Straits Settlements.—This is a colony on the west

coast of the Malay Peninsula. It includes the islands of Singapore and Penang and some small islands; on the mainland Malakka and the provinces of Wellesley and the Dindings. In 1795 Malakka was taken from the Dutch and from being an outpost the colony has developed into a possession of importance. As early as 1819, Singapore was selected as the capital.

In the past thirty years, industrial and commercial conditions have improved owing to the building of roads and railroads. Singapore is one of the leading cities of the East. In 1901, more than fifty lines of steamers stopped at this port. There are no customs duties; revenues are raised by taxes of different kinds. Internal improvements, such as the fortification of Singapore, are borne by the colony. The defense is maintained by native troops.

The Federated Malay States.—These occupy the greater portion of the Malay Peninsula and have been under British protection since 1874. This control became more direct in 1887 when the Rajah of Pahang surrendered control of the foreign relations to the British Government. Under this more direct protection and influence of the British, internal improvements have been rapidly pushed and the development of the natural resources of the Peninsula has been quite remarkable. The State of Trenggnau joined the federation in 1910.

British North Borneo.—This territory, ceded in 1877–78 to Sir Alfred Dent, was transferred in 1884, to the British North Borneo Company. Six years later it was placed under the protection of England. This same year Sarawak, an independent state which had been ceded to Rajah Brooke in 1842 by the Sultan of Brunei, was placed under British protection.

In all these outlying possessions of England, the population is principally Malay, with a large number of Chinese and East Indians.

AUSTRALASIA: Australia.—It was two hundred and forty years after the supposed discovery of Australia by the Portuguese and Spaniards, and one hundred and twenty-seven years after the Dutch had explored along its coasts

and named it New Holland, before England was attracted thither. In 1770, the noted English explorer, Captain Cook, cruised along the eastern shores. So the first definite knowledge of this region came to England, at about the time that the American colonies were lost.

First Period.—When England could no longer use the Carolinas as a penal station, the question arose as to where the criminals could be sent. Captain Cook had furnished the answer. So in 1787, the first shipment of convicts was sent to Botany Bay on the east coast of Australia. The town of Sydney was started by this first immigration of convicts. Until 1853, each year brought a consignment of criminals. However, this was practically discontinued in 1830.

The colony was supposed to find subsistence by tilling the soil, but for the first years, the suffering was great, as the criminals were for the most part from cities and knew nothing about farming. Later, sheep raising and cattle raising were introduced and material conditions improved. The improvement was slow, as practically nothing in the way of road making was done during the first twenty years.

The colony was under military rule, with almost absolute power in the hands of the commanding officer. England was not only a long way off but quite indifferent as to the welfare of this penal colony. Worse moral conditions than prevailed can hardly be imagined.

By 1818, sheep raising had so developed as to attract large numbers of free immigrants from England. Conditions began to improve. England, always a large consumer of wool, became interested in this new source of supply in her own dominions. Prosperity brought public works, as roads, bridges, buildings. The great demand for labor made wages high, as the convicts did not supply the demand. This, with the opportunity in the sheep and cattle raising, brought a great increase of free immigrants of a desirable class. So military rule was superseded by attempts at local government. Trial by jury was introduced in 1829. Up to this time, the governor had had full control over all punishments.

Second Period.—With 1830 the second period of Australia's development began. The colony's prosperity at this time was not real, for there were no homes, no development of settled communities as in the English colonies in America. The work of the first immigrants of this period was to disclose the resources of the country and to prepare for the home makers who came later.

One of the interesting things in the history of Australia is the land system. The subject is far too extensive for discussion here. Suffice that between 1830 and 1850, two hundred and twenty thousand immigrants were brought from England free. These were for a great part men and women selected for qualities that go to make up successful colonizers. The transportation of these immigrants was paid from the receipts of the sale of public lands. This was the scheme of Edward Gibbon Wakefield and Robert Torrens, the latter the creator of the Australian land-registry system. These men were economists with extreme theories, many of which were experimented with in Australasia.

The great rush of immigration to Australia followed the discovery of gold in 1851. This caused one of the great movements of population in history. All the suffering, excitement, lawlessness, which always follow a gold fever were experienced by Australia, but strange as it may seem, this was the period of the development of constitutional government. The practical common sense of the Anglo-Saxon can not be entirely overthrown, even by a gold excitement.

Political Development.—Before 1822, there had been scarcely any political organization, and the Crown had appointed the governors, who were supreme. The time between 1822 and 1856 was a period of transition, during which a local government, giving the people privileges, was evolved in each colony. In 1850, an Act of Parliament, recognized the practical independence of the separate colonies. Each colony adopted a constitution and in 1855 the first parliaments were chosen.

For fifty years, the federation of the colonies was a vital question in Australia. Conventions were held from time

to time, but a final agreement was not reached until the close of the century. On January 1, 1901, the Commonwealth of Australia was inaugurated. This Commonwealth includes the five colonies into which the continent of Australia was formerly divided, New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, and Western Australia, also the Island of Tasmania. "The highest triumph of colonial politics is the successful federation of these dependencies. The result will scarcely have a greater influence on Australia than on the world. The fusion of five million people, all sprung from the same racial stock, previously only artificially divided, and controlling a continent as large as Europe, can not fail to be felt in every quarter of the globe."[13]

The constitution of the Commonwealth in many respects follows that of the United States. The individual States reserve to themselves all rights not specifically surrendered, following the example of the United States. In Canada this rule is reversed.

Internal improvements, as railroads, telegraph, and telephone systems, are under the control of the government. "It is worthy of notice that the experiment of nationalizing railways which at one time seemed to be a peculiarity of military monarchies like Germany and Russia, has found its most enthusiastic defenders in ultra-democratic communities like New Zealand and Australia."[14]

The annexation of the neighboring islands became a topic of keen interest in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. German activity in taking up the unoccupied regions stirred up the Australians. No amount of pressure could secure any action from the mother country, so the colonies took the matter up on their own account, and after intense excitement, and by promising to pay a certain amount annually for a number of years, succeeded in pressing England to take possession of what was left of New Guinea, and some of the adjoining isles.

The question of Chinese and Japanese immigration has been a serious one, as immigrants from China and Japan

[13] Morris: "History of Colonization."
[14] Bigelow: "Children of the Nations."

flocked in great numbers to Australia after the discovery of gold. Finally a stringent Exclusion Act against immigration from these two countries was passed. This exclusion now applies to all Asiatic peoples, in fact to all people not of the Caucasian race.

Nations with popular franchise are indebted to Australia for the Australian ballot system. From this country also comes the Torrens land registry system.

New Zealand.—This colony consists of a group of islands with an area almost as large as all the British Isles, lying about twelve hundred miles from Australia; though at so great a distance it is in every way closely connected with the continent. For over half a century after Cook's explorations, nothing was done toward settling this place of delightful climate and abundant resources. Then in 1839, expeditions from the two old-time rivals, England and France, made a race for the islands, England winning by three days.

New Zealand has had an unusual colonial history from the standpoint of colonists. Wakefield was instrumental in securing the first immigration, so it was a selected class. It was never a penal settlement. Among the many ideas which Wakefield worked out, was the one of sending colonists of like religious creed to the same settlement. Public money was used in building churches, so there was, of course, no rivalry in local church matters. The colony has always had a remarkably high standard of morals.

"The New Zealander is a practical Englishman who deliberately undertakes experiments on new soil and under favorable conditions, which it would be almost revolutionary to attempt in England or any other old country where men are bound down by social prejudices and traditions. The colony offers to-day a picture of state socialism carried further than in any other democratic community. The railroads are in the hands of the State as elsewhere in Australasia, but in addition to that the Government has practically undertaken to control the relations between capital and labor." [15] There is no detail connected with this

[15] Bigelow: "Children of the Nations."

question that the Government hesitates to control; whether it be regulations for the comfort of the shop girl, or the wage scale between corporations and employees.

Autonomy was granted the colony in 1852. In 1875, the separate provinces, or organizations which had been formed under the charter of 1850, were organized into counties and the whole united under a centralized responsible government.

Fiji Islands.—This group of about one hundred and fifty islands lies about thirteen hundred miles from Australia. The principal chieftain in 1858, offered the sovereignty of his dominion to England. The offer was not accepted. From various causes there was an immigration to the islands and by 1871, conditions warranted European interference and a demand for a share in the government. Dissensions followed, and England assumed control in 1874 and organized the island into a crown colony. The natives are for the most part under direct control of the native chiefs, other native potentates and princes are employed in official capacities and all are paid salaries by the British Government.

AFRICA: General.—While peace was a striking characteristic of the history of the colonizing of Australia, Africa, the fourth continental region of English colonial activity, has been the scene of frequent wars.

The colonial area in Africa belonging to England is in a formative stage compared with the nation's possessions in the other three continental regions, although English interest in Africa dates back to the sixteenth century when Elizabeth chartered trading companies to bring to her markets commodities from the Dark Continent. The activity of many merchants in Bristol, as well as in other ports, in the slave trade proves that England was not indifferent in the earlier periods to the value of Africa.

West Africa.—England's first claims in Africa were in the region of Guinea, a name always to be connected with the African slave trade. The first possessions were on the Gold Coast where there was always more or less trouble with Dutch rivals. On the Gambia River, trading posts were established two hundred years before the colony was organized in 1888. About 1861, Lagos was taken from the

King of Dahomey because he persisted in carrying on the slave traffic.

In *Sierra Leone* the first settlement colony was founded. Its origin or purpose of founding associates it with its neighbor, Liberia. Bishop Wilberforce, a name always to be associated with the emancipation of the slaves, conceived, in connection with some kindred spirits, the idea of establishing a colony for free slaves in the Guinea region. The plan was to take the freed negroes to their own land, give them the opportunity of making homes and enjoying other advantages of civilization. The first shipment was taken out the same year (1787) that the first shipment of convicts was taken to Australia. These were the insignificant beginnings on two different continents where a century later, England was to be supreme on one, and the dominating influence on the other.

Sierra Leone passed under the control of the Crown in 1807. It has become an asylum for freed men from all countries. It is to-day the center of British power in western Africa.

The Royal Niger Company.—As late as 1889, a writer of authority on colonial affairs, in writing of western Africa says: "They still exchange considerable quantities of raw product with the English market, but it is not likely that they will ever grow beyond the proportions of small trading settlements." This statement might still be true, had Germany, France, Belgium, and Portugal not been stirred with ambitions for African possessions. The activities of these nations caused England, ever on the alert, to take some action toward expanding what she already had in Western Africa as well as to see that there were no encroachments on her claims.

One result of this awakened interest was the organization of the Royal Niger Company in 1886. The controlling spirit in the company was Sir George Goldie, a name to be connected with this part of Africa, as the name of Cecil Rhodes is with that of southern Africa.

Within a year after receiving its charter the company, through its agents, had negotiated treaties with native chiefs,

which gave it a foothold in the basin of the Niger, Benue, Bornu to Lake Chad, and northwest to the territory of Sokoto. These treaties gave but the vaguest claims as the chiefs might make treaties with the agents of companies from other countries. No boundaries, even indefinite, could be agreed upon. The first step toward defining the limits of colonial claims in these African regions was taken at the Berlin-African Conference (1885). Since then, by agreements and conventions, boundaries of spheres of influence, though somewhat indefinite, have been agreed upon.

The policy of the Royal Niger Company, which brought under nominal control forty millions of people, was monopoly, excluding independent companies from trading. Harsh measures in duties were practiced. This policy involved the company in constant trouble in Africa, and was the subject of sharp criticism in England. The territory was cut down, and at last in 1898, the charter was canceled and the territory transferred to the Crown and the name Nigeria given to the colony.

South Africa: *Cape Colony.*—England had long looked with desire upon the slow-going Dutch colony in southern Africa. After establishing a foothold in India, this desire became stronger. As did the Dutch East India Company, England needed a halfway station, a provisioning place. Farsighted British statesmen also saw that the position of Cape Colony opened the gate into vast realms in the interior of Africa, which might mean limitless wealth.

In 1795, after Holland's defeat by France, England captured this coveted colony. After giving it back and taking it again, at last, England was ceded the territory in 1815, on the payment to Holland of sixty millions of pesos.

The population of the colony at that time was a queer mixture; one-eighth was white, mostly Boers, though there were some few French Huguenots, the other seven-eighths were Hottentots, Kafirs, Malays, and Negroes from the north. The colony was peculiarly isolated and had little connection with any civilization. It could at first be made only a naval station.

The first difficulty in developing this colony was the

scarcity of immigrants. Most liberal inducements were offered, but it was of no use, the numbers were not great. Finally, efforts were made to get emigrants from the continent. Numbers of Germans went; still immigration was very slow.

From the first coming of the English there was an antagonistic feeling toward them, among the Boers. This feeling was increased by the abolishing of the slave trade. The Boers could not understand why this was done and resented the financial loss; later the abolishment of slavery added to the bitterness. The Boers had treated the Kafirs with little thought of the fact that they were human. England was somewhat imbued with the nineteenth century humanitarian spirit which had abolished slavery, and showed this in her treatment of the Kafirs. This the Boers also resented.

As the Boers preferred the new frontier regions to living with the hated English, they migrated north and formed new colonies. Natal was the first migration colony. When England forced them to "trek" again they formed the Orange Free State. The first expansion of England in South Africa, was simply following up the Boers and pushing them further on.

The fighting with the natives was more or less continuous. Some of the wars, such as the Zulu War of 1884, were far more than little brushes with a few savages. Experience with the Boers had taught the Kafirs to look upon the white men as their foes so the kindness of the English toward them bore little fruit at first.

The colony was under military rule for the first thirty years; then came a period of direct administration. In 1850, a legislative form of government was established. The opening of the Suez Canal, it was thought, would ruin, or nearly so, the commercial value of the colony. The cost of the defense of the colony had been rather heavy. The colonists saw their chance. They offered to undertake their own defense providing they were given responsible government. This was done in 1874.

No schemes, no efforts brought activity, commercial or industrial, to Cape Colony, until the discovery of diamonds in 1870 brought a rush, and later the discovery of gold led

to the excitement and prosperity which usually follow such discoveries. The development of the surrounding possessions of Germany and of Portugal added to the awakening which has given such prominence, commercially, in recent years to Cape Colony. For this, the oldest of the South African colonies, is the principal gateway, not only for all the products of the mines of South Africa, but for all the products of the soil which have increased marvelously with the other activities.

Adjoining settlements were made protectorates and incorporated in Cape Colony. Natal, Orange Free State, and Transvaal were the three most important colonies established by the migrating Boers in their efforts to escape the English. The first was given a responsible government in 1893. It was the Boers of the last two, that resisted the English in the late war which ended in the whole region being brought under British rule.

Under the South African Act (1909) of the Imperial Parliament, the four self-governing colonies of South Africa were formed into the Union of South Africa. These colonies constitute the original provinces of the Union with the names respectively of Cape of Good Hope, Natal, the Transvaal, and Orange Free State.[16]

The British South Africa Company.—This corporation, founded by Cecil Rhodes, was organized in 1889, with absolute powers in the regions to the north of the Cape over which British sovereignty was exercised, and as far beyond into the interior of Africa, as it might succeed in stretching its sway. Civil administration, maintenance of order, banking, railways, commerce, trade, and general legislative and political supremacy in its broadest degree were conferred by the company's charter. The period of its existence was limited to twenty-five years. It now (1911) exercises jurisdiction over what is known as Rhodesia. This is divided into Northwest Rhodesia or Barutseland, Northeast Rhodesia, and South Rhodesia, subdivided into Matabeleland and Mashonaland.

Settlement of these regions is encouraged by offering

[16] This Act went into effect in May, 1910.

agricultural lands to actual occupants, on terms that make the farms practically a gift. The mineral resources which are valuable are being exploited by mining companies. Several thousands of miles of railways and thousands of miles of roads and trails have been built. These, and work in all lines of internal improvement are transforming the jungles of this part of Africa into a comfortable and profitable dwelling place for civilized man. And that "dreamer devout, by vision led," Cecil Rhodes, man of will, power, courage, sleeping in the Matoppos, need not long "await a people's feet in the paths that he prepared."

East Africa.—England's territory in East Africa consists of large areas for the most part unexplored except along the coast. Here, as in the western region, England's activity was brought about by the activity of other European nations, particularly Germany. As a result of treaties and the activity of the British East Africa Company, England holds the protectorates of British East Africa which includes the three protectorates of East Africa, Uganda, and Zanzibar, and also the protectorate of Nyasaland. Near the entrance to the Red Sea is another protectorate, British Somaliland.

Egypt.—"Two hundred and twenty years ago, in the reign of Louis XIV, and one hundred years ago in the dawning empire of Napoleon Bonaparte, the idea was conceived and born that Egypt controlled the back door, the garden gate, of India."[17] This explains why England for a century had longings for the control of Egypt, for across Egypt lay the shortest route to India.

This ambition was thwarted by the defeat of England (?) by Turkish forces in the beginning of the nineteenth century, after the French withdrew. No further opportunity offered, until 1876, when dual control of England and France was assumed over Egypt because of its bankrupt condition. Riots and the massacre of Christians in Alexandria, in 1882, compelled England to intervene. France withdrew from the control and England reconquered the country for the Khedive. When this had been done, the

[17] Johnston: "Colonization of Africa by Alien Races."

British Government was in a dilemma. "Had it, say some, on the capture of Cairo declared Egypt to be a British protectorate outright, it would have only done what all the powers of Europe expected. On the other hand, this bold step would have meant the tearing up of treaties and the partitioning of the Turkish empire."[18] The British Government was probably sincere in its assurances of speedy evacuation, but the next year occurred the revolt of the Mahdi. The Sudan was not conquered until 1899. England could not evacuate until this was done. To-day (1911) finds Britain still the dominating power in Egypt.

The government is an anomalous one, without a parallel in history. It has been made possible by the rare ability of one man, Earl of Cromer, who was sent as British agent and consul-general to Egypt in 1883 and remained as a representative of his Government until 1907. "Gradually owing to his ability and truly British calm, the situation grew into a possible one."

The Sultan of Turkey is the real ruler, legal so to speak, of Egypt, and the Khedive is his appointed representative. England's position is that of advisor with a resident representative bearing the official title of Agent. However, England, as the whole world recognizes, is the real ruler of Egypt.

As an illustration of how far this peculiar combination of government is carried out, when the Sudan was conquered the question of how it should be governed arose. Cromer solved it by establishing a joint rule of England and the Khedive, with England dominant; the governor-general to be appointed by the Khedive on the recommendation of the British Government; the proclamation of the governor-general to have the force of a law; no foreign consul to be allowed to reside in Sudan without the consent of the British Government. As to the restriction regarding the consuls, the powers were pacified by the assertion that in trade and in residence in Sudan "no special privileges would be accorded to the subjects of any power."

To give some idea, from a British viewpoint of England's

[18] Johnston: "Colonization of Africa by Alien Races."

position in Africa, the following extracts from Lord Cromer's "Modern Egypt" are given. In reference to his first assignment to his duties, he states, speaking of himself in the third person: "He was hailed with delight by the lawful rulers of Egypt and the mass of the Egyptian people. The greater portion of Europe also looked on without disfavor, if not positive approval. He was convinced that his mission was to save Egyptian society, and moreover, that he was able to save. But if he were to do any good, he must not only show what was to be done, but he must stay where he was and do it himself. He would assert his native genius by working out a system which, according to every canon of political thought, was unworkable. He would not annex Egypt, but he would do as much good to the country as if he had annexed it. He would not interfere with the liberty of action of the Khedivial Government, but in practice he would insist on the Khedive and the Egyptian ministers conforming to his views. In a word he would act with all the common sense, the scorn for theory, and the total absence of any fixed plan based on logical reasoning which are the distinguishing features of his race."

During the first year of Cromer's work in Egypt, he wrote to Lord Granville as follows: "If we cut the knot by withdrawing without having done our work, and leaving Egypt to stew in its own juice of administrative, financial, and economic anarchy, there will be a very considerable risk that something will occur before our backs have long been turned, which will raise up the old Egyptian question again. I confess I do not see my way out of this dilemma."

Again he says: "Of all the many delusions which at one time existed about Egypt, the worst of all is the idea that England can shake herself free of the Egyptian question merely by withdrawing the British garrison, and then declaring that the Egyptians must get on as well as they can by themselves." This was his opinion near the time of his leaving Egypt.

In referring to the future he says: "So far as can at present be judged, only two alternative courses are possible.

Egypt must eventually either become autonomous, or it must be incorporated into the British Empire."

The reforms in every line of industrial development and internal improvement that were accomplished by Cromer have all been for the prosperity of the country and toward giving the masses easier lives and more justice. The Empire of Britain has done for the world in Egypt what it has done in other places, made it accessible to the world's trade, by bringing about a condition of peace and order and the enforcement of laws, giving fair and equal treatment to all. The peculiarity of Egypt is that it is oriental with western civilization partially grafted on. This was the difficulty when the nation was left to rule itself.

COMMUNICATION, NAVAL, AND MILITARY COLONIES.—England's line of colonies of this class girdle the earth. Gibraltar, Malta, purely military, Cyprus, where colonial history goes back to the time of Assyria, are links in the chain to the Suez canal and keep open the route to the East. Leaving the Red Sea, Aden, and Sokotra give bases for protection. Many islands in the Indian Ocean and in Oceania are of value for their products as well as forming part of the belt for communication. In the Pacific, and in the Atlantic are many island possessions whose chief value lie in their being a part of the line of communication about the earth, and aids and protection to ships in times of peace and, in case of war, bases for supplies as well as for naval stations.

ENGLAND'S SUCCESS AS A COLONIZING POWER.—Parnell, in 1830, said that the history of the colonies was a history of loss, that the loss by destruction and waste of private capital, and the heavy expenditures of the Government, made the total enormous. There is truth in this opinion expressed nearly a century ago. But the fact that England is to-day dependent on her colonies for her very existence is a more forcible truth. The colonies feed and clothe England's people and give them employment.

It is a truism to say that England is a successful colonizer. Much has been written analyzing the methods by which

she so successfully holds "dominion over palm and pine." It must suffice here to name only a few of the elements which have brought the country to its present place among the nations.

England's geographic situation is favorable. Located on an island, for two hundred years she has been able to keep out of European squabbles if she chose. The narrow channel protected her from even so formidable a foe as Napoleon. The English people are a composite race, made up of elements of all the races of Europe. This makes them more liberal minded, more tolerant, better able to look at a question from many sides, than if they sprang from one stock.

England learned earlier than other nations to consider the benefit of the colony as well as her own benefit; to take as her watchword, "construct, organize, never exhaust, but rather strengthen the dependency, let it cost the mother country what it may."

Justice and fair treatment are things which the Saxon asks and is willing to give. This may explain why the Crown never claimed the soil of the colonies and the oppression of feudalism was never felt in English colonies. Also that religious toleration has always prevailed. In no British colony has the Government sought to overthrow or stamp out the religion of the native.

The Saxon is a worker. If in the settlement colony, his was the hand that made the colony productive. By his own labor he soon had the necessities of life and the luxuries when he could afford them. In the exploitation colonies, he is no less a worker. His ability to work, patience in awaiting results, courage in facing difficulties, and his perfect sincerity win success. This constant plodding away is not only true in the field, as it were, but is also true in the councils. England's colonial history shows that reforms are often begun before the need becomes pressing. Effort is made and thought is taken constantly to anticipate the demands of the colonies.

Industrially, England keeps abreast of the times. Improved methods in every line of industry are introduced in the exploitation colonies. "In organizing and in execut-

ing great industrial undertakings such as mines, and factories, and in arranging for commercial communication between various nations and for buying the produce of the colonies and exchanging it for articles of European manufacture, England is the leading nation, though Germany and the United States are rapidly pushing to the front."[19]

Internal improvements are made as fast as a colony can undertake them. Philanthropic institutions are not neglected. Wherever the English go as settlers, the school goes. With the native's individual improvement, however, England has not done so much as either Spain or France. She has followed more the let-alone policy.

In commerce, England is open to the world. In the colonial commerce, the colonies are free as to where and how they send their produce. The self-governing colonies are independent in making their own trade laws and their own tariff schedules.

> "Daughter am I in my Mother's house,
> But mistress in my own,
> The gates are mine to open,
> As the gates are mine to close."

In the other colonies, the local legislatures have considerable influence and power in tariff legislation and trade laws.

The general policy of the nation in colonial government was expressed by Earl Grey in 1853: "This country has no interest whatever in exercising any greater influence than is indispensable either for the purpose of preventing any one colony from adopting measures injurious to another or to the Empire at large, or else for the promotion of the internal good government of the colonies by assisting the inhabitants to govern themselves when sufficiently civilized to do so with advantage, and by providing a just and impartial administration of those of which the population is too ignorant and unenlightened to manage its own affairs."

England's greatest superiority in colonial government is the freedom given to colonial officials. In 1850, Earl Bathhurst said to a departing colonial governor, "Good-by my

[19] Reinsch: "World Politics."

good fellow, and let us hear as little of you as possible." This is usually related to show the indifference of the country at the time toward her colonies. It also reveals the freedom from restraint that has always characterized England's control of colonial officials. Trusted individuals are selected and then free rein is given to them. The home government uses its knowledge to warn its officials in the colonies rather than to embarrass them with anticipative directions. It is this policy that made Cromer's work and that of Goldie and Clarke possible.

Few administrative restrictions, simple laws enforced in an equitable manner, equal opportunity to all, unlimited trust in tried and proved character, are the principles which have made England so successful in colonial government. These principles attract colonizing material to her colonies, as in Hongkong men flock who wish a free and stable field for their energies.[20]

England says to her colonies:

> "The Law that ye make shall be Law and I do not press my will
> Because ye are Sons of the Blood and call me Mother still."

IMPERIAL FEDERATION.—By imperial federation is meant the union of the different colonies of the British Empire into one federation, each colony being a unit of the federated whole, with its proper representation in the Imperial Parliament.

The Imperial League was organized in England in 1884. Since that date there has been much discussion on the subject of Imperial Federation. Nothing definite has been done. The principal topic discussed in connection with Imperial Federation has been the tariff.

To all intents and purposes the British Empire is now a federated State. The relation of the self-governing colonies to the mother country is practically the same as that of members of a federated state to the central government. And in many of the crown colonies the powers of local government are so great that in reality these colonies differ but little from the self-governing colonies in their relation to the home government.

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[20] Last paragraph based on Reinsch's "World Politics."

All the colonies are bound to the parent state by very close bonds. English capital invested in the colonies, by a conservative estimate is over a billion pounds sterling. London, the financial center of the Empire supplies the colonial banks with funds, finances the colonial railroads and other improvements. Industrially, the colonies and the mother country are mutually dependent. England must have raw materials and the colonies must have manufactured goods. By providing the defense of the colonies England gives them security from attack without, and under this protection they go on their way in peace developing their resources and adding to their wealth and indirectly to the wealth of the home country. In the settlement colonies, there is the community of language, literature, tradition, and general culture and to all the colonies the prestige which comes from belonging to a powerful empire.

A real test of the loyalty of the colonies came in the African War. The home troops went to the support of the British flag with no more loyal spirit than did the colonial volunteers from Australia and Canada.

There is little communication or connection among the different colonies but federation would not remedy this. Gettell (1910) says: "The geographic situation prevents complete amalgamation, but the subordination of the imperial interests to the local Parliament of the British Isles will scarcely remain permanent." So Imperial Federation may come, though just at present it is not recognized as a necessity.

PRESENT POSSESSIONS.

EUROPE:

Gibraltar.
Malta.

Gibraltar is a crown colony. The functions of the government and legislation are exercised by the governor, who is also commander-in-chief.

Malta, is a crown colony administered by a governor, assisted by an executive council and a council of government

consisting of 4 members *ex officio*, 9 official members, and 8 elected members.

AFRICA:

West Africa—
- *Northern Nigeria.*
- *Southern Nigeria.*
- *Gold Coast.*
- *Sierra Leone.*
- *Gambia.*

Union of South Africa—
- *Cape of Good Hope.*
- *Natal.*
- *The Transvaal.*
- *Orange Free State.*

South Africa—
- *Basutoland.*
- *Bechuanaland.*
- *Rhodesia.*
- *Swaziland.*

East Africa—
- *East Africa Protectorate.*
- *Uganda.*
- *Zanzibar.*
- *Nyasaland.*
- *Somaliland.*

Islands Near Africa—
- *Ascension.*
- *St. Helena.*
- *Mauritius.*
- *Seychelles.*

Northern Nigeria and *Southern Nigeria* are protectorates administered by a governor who is also commander-in-chief. In Southern Nigeria there are executive and legislative councils. Southern Nigeria comprises the Southern Nigeria Protectorate and the Colony of Southern Nigeria (Lagos).

Gold Coast is a colony administered by a governor with executive and legislative councils both nominated. *Ashanti* is under the government of Gold Coast, but the laws of this colony do not apply to the territory.

Sierra Leone, a colony, includes a protectorate which extends inland. In each of the six districts of the protectorate is a commissioner. The colony and protectorate are under a governor and executive and legislative councils the members of which are nominated.

Gambia is a colony with a governor and executive and legislative councils. The whole possession, however, with the exception of the Island of St. Mary at the mouth of the Gambia River on which the capital Bathurst is located, is administered as a protectorate.

Union of South Africa.—The executive government consists of a governor-general advised by an executive council chosen by him; ministers of state, not more than 10, appointed by the governor-general, administer the departments of state and are members of the executive council.

Legislative power is vested in a senate and a house of assembly. The governor-general has power to summon, prorogue, and dissolve Parliament, but the senate may not be dissolved within ten years after the establishment of the Union. Part of the members of the senate are nominated by the governor-general in council and part are elected by the provincial councils. Members of the house of assembly are elected by the people. All members of the senate and the house must be British subjects of European descent and have resided within the Union five years. Pretoria is the seat of government for the Union, and Cape Town is the seat of legislature.

The executive official of each province is an administrator appointed by the governor-general. Each province has a legislative body. All ordinances of these bodies are subject to veto by the governor-general in council.

Basutoland, a protectorate, is governed by a resident commissioner under direction of the high commissioner for South Africa. The direct control of the natives is under the paramount chief, a native.

Bechuanaland, a protectorate, is under a resident commissioner, under the high commissioner for South Africa. The natives are under the rule of the native chiefs, under the protection of the resident commissioner.

Rhodesia is under the administration of the British South

Africa Company. There is a resident commissioner appointed by the Secretary of State. To assist the company's administrator, there is an executive council of not less than 4 members appointed for three years by the company with the approval of the Secretary of State.

The legislative council consists of the administrator, 7 nominees of the company approved by the Secretary of State and 7 members elected by the registered voters. There is, for native affairs, the chief native commissioner with assistant and subordinate native commissioners. Except with respect to arms and ammunition and liquor, natives and non-natives are under the same conditions.

Swaziland is under the high commissioner for South Africa. Native chiefs exercise jurisdiction over the tribes and there is a paramount chief.

The East Africa Protectorate consists of seven provinces and a strip of unoccupied territory. Though called a protectorate, still, it is now virtually a crown colony, administered by a governor assisted by executive and legislative councils constituted, in 1906, by an Order in Council. The territory is under the authority, since 1905, of the Colonial Office instead of the Foreign Office, as formerly.

Uganda, a protectorate, consists of five provinces. Most of the provinces into which the territory is divided are under the direct rule of native chiefs. One of these provinces, the Kingdom of Buganda, is recognized as a native kingdom and the ruler is addressed as "His Highness." The British administration of Uganda is under a governor who is also commander-in-chief.

Zanzibar is a protectorate. The Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba and a coast strip ten miles wide of the British East Africa Protectorate are under direct authority of the Sultan of Zanzibar as titular sovereign. The British Government is represented by an Agent or First Minister.

Nyasaland.—Until 1907, this protectorate was known as British Central Africa. It is administered by a governor, who is also commander-in-chief, assisted by an executive and legislative council, both consisting of nominated members. The protectorate is divided into thirteen districts each having a resident.

Somaliland.—This protectorate is administered by a commissioner. Between 1884 and 1898, the territory was under the Government of India. In 1898 it was transferred to the Foreign Office, and in 1905 it was transferred to the Colonial Office.

The Islands of St. Helena and *Ascension* are entirely under the control and jurisdiction of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

Mauritius with its Dependencies is a colony. The government is vested in a governor assisted by an executive council. There is also a council of government consisting of the governor and 27 members, 10 being elected under a moderate franchise, 8 *ex officio* and 9 nominated by the governor.

Seychelles and its Dependencies consist of ninety islands. The Seychelles was formerly under the government of Mauritius but in 1888 it was given a separate government with an administrator and executive and legislative councils. In 1903 the administrator was raised to the rank of governor.

ASIA:

Cyprus Island.
India—Dependencies—
Aden Settlements.
Bahrein Islands.
Baluchistan (parts).
Sikkim.
Andaman Islands.
Nicobar Islands.
Laccadive Islands.
The Straits Settlements—Dependencies—
The Cocos or Keeling Islands.
Christmas Islands.
Labuan Island.
Federated Malay States.
Borneo (northern part).
Ceylon.
Hongkong.
Wei-hai-Wei.

Cyprus is administered by a high commissioner assisted by an executive council, consisting of three government officials. The legislature consists of 18 members, 6 being office-holders, and 12 elected for five years, 3 by Mohammedan and 9 by non-Mohammedan voters.

India.—The Indian Empire, while not considered as a colony, is administered directly by Agents of the Crown.

In England, the administration is under a Secretary of State for India, assisted by a council of not less than 10 and not more than 14 members, appointed for seven years by the Secretary of State. At least 9 of the council members must have served or resided in India for ten years. They must not have resided in any other place than India for more than five years previous to their appointment. No member can sit in Parliament.

The council has no initiative authority, its duties are to conduct the business transacted in the United Kingdom, in relation to the Government of India. The expenditure of the revenues of India, both in India and elsewhere, is subject to the control of the Secretary of State in council. In dealing with questions affecting the relations of the government with foreign powers, or prescribing the policy toward the native states, and in certain matters regarding the internal policy, the Secretary of State may act on his own authority.

In India, the executive authority is vested in the Governor-General in Council, often styled the Government of India. The Governor-General or Viceroy is appointed by the Crown and usually holds office for five years. The council consists of 5 members, holding office for five years. They are appointed by the Crown. The council is expanded into a legislative council by the addition of other members, nominated by the Viceroy or elected. The legislative council now (1911) consists of 36 official members, and 32 non-official, special provision being made for the representation of the Mohammedans.

This council has power, subject to certain restrictions, to make laws for all persons within British India, for all

British subjects within the native States, and for all native Indian subjects of the King in any part of the world. The proceedings in this council are public; the lieutenant-governor of any province is a member of the council when it sits within his province.

There are eight departments in the Government. At the head of each, except the railway department, is one of the secretaries to the Government of India. The president of the railroad board is the head of the railway department. Each department, with the exception of the foreign department is under the care of one of the members of the council; the foreign department is under the immediate superintendence of the Governor-General. For purposes of administration, India is divided into nine great provinces and four smaller ones. Each is under the immediate authority of a governor, lieutenant-governor or commissioner, according to its rank.

The native States are controlled by the Government in varying degrees, but each is governed by the native princes, ministers, or councils, subject to the supervision of a resident or agent representing the British Government. The chiefs have no right to make war or peace, or to send ambassadors to other states or countries, or maintain a military force greater than the one prescribed. They cannot permit Europeans to reside at their courts without permission. The Government may remove any native official from power.

THE DEPENDENCIES.—*Aden:* This settlement includes, besides the Peninsula of Aden, some towns on the mainland, and the *Islands of Perim, Sokotra,* and *Kurai-Murai.* British authority is represented by a political resident who is also a general officer commanding the troops. The government is subject to the Bombay Government.

Bahrein Islands: There is a political agent in this dependency, who manages the political relations with the Government of India, through the political resident in the Persian Gulf area.

Baluchistan: The head of the civil administration is a

chief commissioner and agent to the Governor-General of India.

Sikkim, a British protectorate was established in this feudatory state, through treaty with China. The government is administered by a political officer.

Andaman Islands are used as a penal settlement for life and long-term convicts. The superintendent of Port Blair represents the control of the Government of India.

Nicobar Islands are administered by a native of India as a permanent resident. A chief commissioner administers both the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

Laccadive Islands are attached to the Malabar district.

The *Straits Settlements* comprise Singapore, Penang (including Province Wellesley and the Dindings), and Malakka. This is a crown colony administered by a governor aided by an executive council. There is a legislative council consisting of 9 official and 7 unofficial members. Of the latter, 5 are nominated by the Crown and 2 by the chambers of commerce of Singapore and Penang but confirmed by the Crown.

Cocos, Christmas, and *Labuan Islands* are part of the Straits Settlements, all being incorporated for administrative purposes in the Settlement of Singapore.

The Federated Malay States: The governor of the Straits Settlements is high commissioner of this protectorate. There is a resident-general in the state as controlling authority. The supreme authority in each of the five states is vested in the state council consisting of the sultan, the resident, the secretary to the resident, and some of the Malay chiefs and Chinese merchants.

The State of Johore, in its foreign relations, is controlled by Great Britain. The territory lying north of the Federated Malay States, embracing the whole of Trenggnau, all but the northeast corner of Kelantan, the greater part of Kedah, Palit or Perlis, parts of Rahman and Legeh and adjacent islands is under British protection. A British officer represents the English authority in each state.

British North Borneo is under the jurisdiction of the

British North Borneo Company. It is a British protectorate administered by a governor. There is a court of directors in London.

Brunei and *Sarawak* are protectorates. A British resident is in the former. Sir Charles Johnston Brooke, nephew of Rajah Brooke, is rajah in the latter. The governor of the Straits Settlements is agent for British North Borneo, Brunei, and Sarawak.

Ceylon.—This crown colony is governed under a constitution established in 1831. There is a governor assisted by executive and legislative councils.

The Maldive Islands, dependencies of Ceylon, are governed by an elected sultan, who pays a yearly tribute to the Ceylon government.

Hongkong is a crown colony, with administration in the hands of a governor aided by an executive council. The legislative council consists of 7 official and 6 unofficial members, 4 being nominated by the Crown, one by the chamber of commerce, and one by the justices of the peace. Two of the members nominated by the Crown are Chinese.

Wei-hai-Wei.—In this leased territory, England has sole jurisdiction, except within the walled city of Wei-hai-Wei, where Chinese officials may exercise such jurisdiction as is not inconsistent with the defense of the territory. The territory is administered by a commissioner. Legislation is by ordinances. There is a high court for both civil and criminal cases, subject to appeal to the supreme court of Hongkong.

AUSTRALASIA:

The Commonwealth of Australia.
Territory of Papua.
The Northern Territory of Australia.
The Dominion of New Zealand.
Fiji.

The Commonwealth of Australia.—The executive power is vested in the Governor-General as representative of the

King. The governor is assisted by an executive council and by responsible ministers of state.

Legislative power is vested in a Senate and House of Representatives. The Senate consists of 36 senators, 6 from each of the original States, chosen for six years. The House of Representatives consists, as nearly as may be, of twice as many members as there are senators, the members chosen in the several States being in proportion to the population.

The legislative powers of the Federal Parliament are extensive. The several State parliaments retain legislative authority in all matters which are not transferred to the Federal Parliament. The ministers of state are members of the Federal Parliament. There is a Federal Judiciary and an Inter-State Commission on trade and commerce.

The Northern Territory of Australia, was under the jurisdiction of South Australia from 1863 until January 1, 1911, when it was transferred to the administration of the Commonwealth.

The Territory of Papua, formerly British New Guinea, and administered by three of the Australian provinces, was in 1906 placed under the jurisdiction of the Commonwealth and declared to be henceforth, the Territory of Papua. The local government is vested in a lieutenant-governor.

New Zealand, a colony, was by Order in Council changed in 1907 to the Dominion of New Zealand. The executive authority is vested in a governor and a responsible ministry.

The legislative power is vested in the governor and in a general assembly consisting of two houses, a legislative council and a house of representatives. The governor may send drafts of bills to either house for consideration. He summons, prorogues, and dissolves the parliament. He has the power of assenting to or withholding consent from bills, or he may reserve them for the King's pleasure. The legislative council consists of 42 members who hold office for seven years. The house consists of 80 members including

4 Maoris, elected by the people, for three years. Women have the right of voting for members of the house but cannot be members of either branch of legislature.

Fiji.—This crown colony is administered by a governor, assisted by an executive council. There is a legislative council consisting of 10 official members and 6 elected members and 2 native members. The governor is president of the council, he is also high commissioner and consul-general for the Western Pacific.

OCEANIA:

Tonga or Friendly Islands.
New Hebrides.
(*Other islands in the Pacific.*)

Tonga.—The British rule in this protectorate is through the high commissioner and consul-general for the Western Pacific. There is a British agent who represents British authority in the Islands. The native king and native chiefs are in direct control.

A legislative assembly meets every three years. It is composed of one-half hereditary nobles who hold their office subject to good behavior, and one-half of representatives elected for three years by the people. Every adult male who has paid his taxes and is not criminally incapacitated is qualified to vote.

New Hebrides.—These islands are under a mixed commission of English and French naval officers on the Pacific Station. Great Britain is represented in the islands by a resident deputy commissioner, who reports to the high commissioner for the Western Pacific.

Other Islands in the Pacific.—The jurisdiction of the high commissioner for the Western Pacific, who is governor of Fiji, extends over all the islands of the Western Pacific, not within the limits of Fiji or any part of Australia or the jurisdiction of any civilized power. The high commissioner is assisted by deputies.

AMERICA:

Canada.
Newfoundland and Labrador.
Bermuda.
Falkland Islands.

West Indies—

The Bahamas.
Barbados.
Jamaica.
Leeward Islands.
Trinidad Island.
Windward Islands.

British Guiana.
British Honduras.

The Dominion of Canada.—The executive authority is vested in a Governor-General assisted by a privy council composed of 15 heads of departments. The Premier is president of the council.

The legislative power is vested in a parliament composed of a Senate and House of Commons. The members of the Senate are nominated for life by the Governor-General. Each senator must reside in, and be possessed of property to the value of eight thousand pesos within the province, for which he is appointed. There are 87 members in the Senate. The House of Commons is elected by the people for five years. They are apportioned according to population, there being now (1911) 221 members.

There is a department of external affairs which has charge of all Imperial and inter-colonial correspondence passing between the Government of Canada and the Colonial Office in London, between Canada and the other British colonies, as well as between the Canadian Government and the British Ambassador at Washington. It is also the medium of communication between the Dominion Government and the foreign consuls in Canada.

There is a High Commissioner for the Dominion of Canada in Great Britain.

Each of the nine provinces has a local parliament and administration with a lieutenant-governor appointed by the Governor-General, at the head of the executive. The territories are governed by a commission and a council of 4 appointed by the Governor-General in council. The one exception to this is the Yukon. The executive council of this territory consists of 10 members elected by the people.

New Foundland.—The government is administered by a governor and an executive council not exceeding 9 members, a legislative council not exceeding 20 members, and a house of assembly consisting of 36 representatives.

Labrador is a dependency of Newfoundland.

Bermuda.—This colony, consisting of a group of three hundred and sixty islands, only about twenty being inhabited, has a governor, an executive council of 6 members appointed by the Crown; a legislative council of 9 members also appointed by the Crown, and a representative house of assembly of 36 members.

Falkland Islands are a crown colony, administered by a governor assisted by executive and legislative councils.

West Indies.—The six groups of possessions in the West Indies vary somewhat in government. The *Bahamas* and *Barbados* each has a governor assisted by an executive and legislative council and a representative assembly.

Jamaica has a governor assisted by a privy council and a legislative council, consisting of 5 *ex officio,* 10 nominated, and 14 elected members. The elected members have a limited term of five years.

Leeward Islands are divided into five presidencies. There is a governor and federal executive council nominated by the Crown, and one federal legislative council consisting of 8 elected and 8 nominated members. The elected members are chosen from three of the presidencies, two being excluded from the council since 1898.

Trinidad has a governor and an executive council, members of which are nominated.

Windward Islands: This colony has a governor, who is

also commander-in-chief. Each island has its own administrative institutions. There is no common legislation, laws or tariff. There is a common court of appeal and the colonies unite for certain other common purposes.

British Guiana.—The executive is vested in a governor assisted by a court of policy of 7 official and 8 elected members, and a combined court containing, in addition to the above, 6 financial representatives, elected. The Roman-Dutch law is in force in civil cases, modified by Orders in Council and local ordinances. The criminal law is based on that of Great Britain.

British Honduras.—This colony is administered by a governor and an executive and legislative council.

CHAPTER XIII.

MINOR COLONIZATION.

GENERAL.—While the five nations, Portugal, Spain, Holland, France, and England, may be ranked as the great colonizing powers, still other nations, have not been wholly inactive in colonial matters. During the first period of modern colonial history Denmark and Sweden took some little part in such ventures, and in the present period, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Russia, Japan, and the United States, are becoming factors which must be reckoned with.

DENMARK: General.—This country had none of the requirements that a successful colonizing power should have except in the character of its people. The Danes have qualifications which made them and still make them good colonists. The seafaring instincts of the Danish people and the necessity of exchanging their products for other varieties of commodities, led them to explore new waters and to become traders. This led to Denmark's first efforts in colonizing. Later, another impelling motive was the hope that the nation might add to her wealth as she saw Holland apparently doing. As the country was at peace with other nations she was not afraid of being molested in her colonial ventures.

The Danes failed as colonizers because they had limited markets at home and little demand for raw materials. They lacked capital and had no naval and military power for the defense of their colonies.

Colonies.—Settlers from Denmark, as well as from the Scandanavian peninsula, were in Iceland five centuries or more before Columbus discovered America. Since 1380 this island, with its wonderfully interesting history and people, has been under Danish rule. After a long and

bitter struggle, the present constitution, making Iceland practically a responsible government, was adopted in 1893.

The permanent results of the colonizing efforts of the Danish West India Company are the island colonies of St. Thomas and Santa Cruz, and their dependencies in the West Indies. These islands are to-day prosperous and very well governed.

The East India Company of Denmark did not have the success of the similar company in Holland. It secured no permanent settlements, except Tranqubar, in Ceylon, which was held until 1843, when it was sold to England.

The trade laws of these chartered companies were liberal and because of this, considerable prosperity was theirs, better, in proportion to capital, than that of some of their contemporaries. But the country was too poor to support them, hence they dissolved, and the emigrating population of Denmark has gone to build up the colonies of other nations.

SWEDEN.—The motives for Sweden's attempt to colonize were the same as those of Denmark, and the causes of her failure were also the same. This failure was more complete as no foreign possession is to-day under the flag of Sweden.

Colonies.—The Company of the South Seas made settlements in what is now parts of Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey in the United States. These settlements were conquered by the Dutch in 1655. Attempts on the African coast likewise resulted in failure.

A Swedish East India Company was formed and established factories on the Coromandel Coast of India, and on the Ganges. Its prosperity was so great that England and Holland became alarmed and required, as the condition of their agreeing to the Pragmatic Sanction of Charles VI of Austria, that the company must be dissolved. Later, the company reorganized with headquarters in Stockholm, instead of Ostend, where its predecessor had been. This company had a prosperous trade in the East, especially with China, until 1815 when it went out of existence. The

geographical location of Sweden in Europe is not advantageous for the country to engage in commercial enterprises.

ITALY: Colonies.—The colonizing municipalities of the Italian Peninsula in the middle ages were active in Africa. After Italy became a nation, its first interest in acquiring power in foreign territory was also in Africa. By influence acquired in Tunis, as has already been told, Italy was one of the three nations once in control of this country. Pushed out of Tunis by France, the young ambitious power tried to secure influence in Tripoli, but the Sultan had become alarmed after the fate of Tunis, and Italy was forced to retire.[1]

Italy had acquired considerable influence in Egypt before English control became paramount in that country. England has always been the friend and a sort of protector of Italy in Africa, in return for which Italy's voice in European councils is always in defense of England. Under English protection and by her own efforts, Italy has obtained control of two regions in northeastern Africa. They are for the most part fit for settlement, and Italy may be able to induce

[1] In October (1911) the world was surprised by Italy's declaring war against Turkey with the control of Tripoli as the object to be gained. So far as is known the direct ground on which Italy claims the right to seize Tripoli, is that the country is in a state of constant disorder and that the government is not strong enough to protect foreigners. Turkey declares the charges of inefficiency to be without foundation. It seems to be current opinion, however, that even though Italy has considerable commercial interest in Tripoli and a comparatively large number of Italians live in the country, and that the control of the Porte is weak—yet, the real cause of the war is Italy's desire for African possessions on the Mediterranean coast. This old ambition has never died. Just why the powers consented to Italy's act is not quite apparent. Obviously England and France might, because Italy would be a neighbor to be preferred to Turkey. As to why Germany and Austria raised no objection no satisfactory conjecture is offered.

The suddenness of the move forcibly suggests that northern Africa is now playing the part in history that Italy played a century or more ago, when the Italian never knew when he retired at night whether he might not waken the subject of some other power than the one under whose protection he went to sleep.

some of the thousands of her frugal, industrious emigrants that are now giving the results of their labors to the United States, Argentina, and to the French colonies in northern Africa, to go to her own possessions.

The protectorate over Abyssinia, gained in 1889, was lost in war with that country in 1896. In 1906, an agreement regarding Abyssinia was signed between England, France, and Italy. By its terms these three nations agreed to maintain the integrity of Abyssinia, and that they each shall have equal rights so far as railways or industrial concessions are concerned. They also agreed to abstain from interference in the internal affairs of the country.

Italy's Future.—There are many weaknesses in Italy as a colonizer, yet the nation may be able to retain what has been acquired and make it of value. Italy is not wholly unified as yet. This weakens its foreign policy and the control of foreign possessions. The country lacks capital, and it is not overpopulated; it is not in great need of markets for manufactured products; so there is really no need for colonies at all. Then the nation has not the practical knowledge of foreign lands and people which other nations have secured by wide commercial activities.

BELGIUM.—Belgium has a unique colonial history. In 1876, under the patronage of King Leopold, a society for more systematic research in Africa and exploration of the continent was organized. Under the auspices of this society, known as the International African Association, Belgium sent out Stanley, and France and Germany sent out other explorers to different parts of the Kongo territory. As a result of these activities by Belgium, the Kongo Independent State was organized and the sovereignty of King Leopold accorded international recognition by the Berlin Conference of 1885. By this same act, the perpetual neutrality of the territory was guaranteed. The Belgian Parliament consented to King Leopold's proclaiming himself ruler of this State. The Belgian King who had already spent five million dollars of his private fortune on Africa, promised an annual subsidy of two hundred thousand dollars to the new state. In 1908, the Kongo Free State was annexed to the kingdom of Belgium.

Belgium has the requirements of a successful colonizing nation. She has wealth, a dense population, and her industry is so thriving that home consumption requires only a part of the agricultural and manufactured products. Above all the Belgians are not averse to leaving the home country, and because of their industry and frugal habits they make first-class emigrants.

Having these requirements, and with an extent of foreign territory equal in size to Brazil, lying in one area, drained by one of the large navigable rivers of the world, a region with natural resources of untold wealth waiting to be developed, there seems no reason why Belgium should not make of this Kongo empire one of the strongest states in Africa.

GERMANY: Early Attempts.—Two hundred years ago, German settlements were made in Africa on the west coast. German merchants have always traded, more or less, up and down this coast, and trading companies have had their posts in different parts of both the east and west coasts of the continent. German missionaries had stations in different places in Africa long before there was a German Empire. But it is only since 1884 that Germany has had any real colonies.

Motives which Led to German Colonial Enterprises of To-day.—From 1871 until the early eighties all the efforts of Germany were put forth toward settling the domestic affairs of the new Empire. As soon as nationality was established, though so late, came the desire for foreign possessions, so that the nation might be on an equal footing with the other great nations of Europe. Manufacturing and commerce justified this desire as did the population. For two hundred years Germany had been pouring out her people to build up the colonies of England. Now that Germany was a nation she naturally desired to send these colonists to regions of her own, so the results of their labor would directly benefit the fatherland.

Methods.—Bismarck was an earnest supporter of colonization. His policy was, not to take possession of regions where there were no German interests and establish colonies

by artificial means, but to extend the protection of the Empire to settlements that grew out of German enterprise.

Unfortunately, by the time Germany was ready to "peg out claims for posterity," there was little that was desirable left. She had to take what she could get, or nothing, so some slices of Africa, and odds and ends of islands in the Pacific have been placed under the German flag. But enough has been picked up in the thirty years of German activity in colonial enterprise to place the Empire next to England and France as a colonial power.

As Bismarck's expressed policy indicates, the commercial company has been used to secure a foothold in territory, over which, later, the Government assumed direct control. This has not been the method always, but it has in the main. In 1897, the German Emperor said: "Our mission is one of protection, not aggression, we simply wish equal rights for German commerce under the Imperial banner." Germany has neglected no opportunity to follow this voiced policy and by so doing has gained considerable foreign territory.

Neither has the nation been slow in seizing its opportunities. During the time when Russia was particularly occupied in Manchuria and off guard, as it were, Germany recognized the favorable opportunity to extend and to strengthen her influence in Asia Minor and at the same time, with one quick shrewd stroke to place the German nation among the interested powers in China.

Colonies: *In the Pacific Ocean.*—In 1879 a German commercial company was formed for the purpose of trade on the islands of the Pacific. This was no new field for German commerce as considerable trade through a Hamburg firm had been carried on for two centuries in these waters. This new company in 1880 asked for aid from the homeland. Bismarck favored granting it, but he was opposed by the Government. Through this discussion, however, Germany was aroused to the importance of colonial possessions.

Though refused financial aid, the company received much encouragement from the homeland and began an aggressive campaign for privileges and territory in the

Pacific. Beginning in 1879, for twenty years, the Samoan Islands were a bone of contention. England and the United States, by concessions with native tribes, had secured certain privileges in these islands. Germany also desired such concessions. This made trouble, which the three nations apparently settled in 1879 by a treaty under which they assumed joint control. But the arrangement brought constant friction and finally, in 1899, the Anglo-German treaty was signed. The terms of this treaty gave Tutuila with the harbor of Pago Pago and other islands east of 171° to the United States. Germany took the islands west of this meridian, including Savaii and Upolu. England, in exchange for giving up all claims to the Samoa group, received Tonga, or the Friendly Islands. After the Philippines passed under the control of the United States, Germany bought from Spain this nation's remaining island possessions in the Pacific.

The German New Guinea Company secured influence and privileges in the part of New Guinea, now known as the colony of Kaiser Wilhelm's Land. The whole island would doubtless have been brought under German control had it not been for the effective activity of the Australians.

In China.—In compensation for the killing of two missionaries, Germany secured in 1897, a ninety-nine year's lease of Kiaochow on the Chinese coast, together with some valuable mining and railway concessions in the province of Shantung.

In Africa.—In 1884, to protect some German missions located in the region north of the Orange River and to protect the concessions which German merchants had received from native chiefs in the same region, Germany, after many preliminary negotiations with the English Government, declared what is now known as German South West Africa to be a German protectorate.

The same year Kamerun and Togoland were taken possession of by Germany, to the surprise of England, who had not taken seriously Germany's colonial ambitions in Africa.

Two years later, the territory that had been claimed

through treaties with native chiefs by the German East African Company was declared, after agreements with England, a German protectorate.

The Future of Germany, as a colonizing power seems to be assured. True, the German possessions are situated in regions which will make them of little value as settlement colonies, but Teutonic diligence and good sense will undoubtedly make them in time, valuable as exploitation colonies.[2]

The Fatherland has made all kinds of efforts to induce emigrants to go to these new possessions, but with little success. This failure according to some writers is attributed, to a great extent, to the fact that there is too much officialism in German colonies; and that the colonial officials are arrogant and have no conception of the value to a colony of commercial and industrial residents. In the Orient, German capitalists seek French, English, or American colonies for investment, rather than the ones under their own flag, giving as their reason, that there is more freedom and encouragement in these colonies.

In the German technical schools, especially in the engineering and commercial schools, special attention is paid to preparing students for colonial life, by giving training in the languages used in the different colonies and by giving attention to the physiography, the industrial and commercial possibilities of colonial possessions throughout the world.

The German emigrant is one of the best settlers that leaves Europe. Could all the results of the industry of the thousands of the sons of Germany that have for a

[2] Keller: "Colonization."—Under "Modern German Colonization," Mr. Keller devotes considerable space to the difficulties which Germany is encountering in securing labor in her African and island colonies. The natives in most of these possessions have had little or no contact with civilization. This author cites several writers who advocate that these colonies are in a condition similar to that of other tropical colonies of two centuries or more ago, and that they must have some system of forced labor until the natives acquire some idea of work. After this has been accomplished, then ideas more in accord with twentieth century opinions may be used.

century and a half, gone to help make the prosperity of the United States, Canada, Australia, and Cape Colony, have been expended in Germany's own possessions, what rich and powerful colonies might to-day be under the Kaiser's rule!

RUSSIA: Alaska, or Russian America.—The one attempt of Russia to control noncontiguous territory was in Alaska. Peter the Great first conceived the idea of exploring the waters to the east of Asia and commissioned Vitus Bering to carry out his scheme. Bering did this in 1728 after the death of the great Czar. A desultory kind of fur trade was carried on along the Alaskan coast by Russia until the close of the century, when the Russian-American Fur Trading Company was organized. This was a prosperous company. It established trading posts in different places on the chain of islands extending from Asia to the Alaskan Peninsula and along the southern coast of Alaska, and extended its trade as far south as California. In 1867, Russia sold Alaska to the United States for ₱14,400,000.

Siberia.—The kind of colonial enterprise to which Russia has bent her energies is "internal colonization," that is, acquiring, settling, developing, and controlling territory contiguous to the mother country. Reinsch does not recognize this form of expansion as colonization, claiming that it is "but direct and immediate growth of the nation." However, Channing and other authorities, call it "internal colonization."

By this form of expansion, Russia has extended her boundary from the Ural Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. According to Bigelow, "Russia resembles the United States in the extent to which she has spread her people from sea to sea across a continent, but there the resemblance stops. Every foot of North American soil has been conquered by free men who have marked every stage of their progress by free schools and representative government." But instead of the natural movement of free men seeking to better their condition, Russia's first movement of population to the East was forced settlement, for Siberia was a penal colony, particularly for political exiles. In recent

years the development of this great colony has been remarkable. The construction of internal improvements is being pushed rapidly. Russia's object is to make the territory from the Ural Mountains east, Russian territory by actual settlement. "Russia is not an overpopulated country. The Czar has moved his people eastward for political and strategic reasons, because he required an army of occupation and the cheapest army was the one which handled the hoe as well as the rifle."[3]

Millard[4] (1909) makes the statement that, "within the past two years one of the greatest migrations of modern times has been proceeding so quietly that it has hardly been noticed." The movement has been influenced by the glowing reports of the soldiers returning from the Russian-Japanese War, the depression in agriculture in Russia, and the direct encouragement of the Russian Government. The official statistics show that in 1906 the immigration into Siberia was 180,000, in 1908 it was over 500,000.

The question arises, will there not come to be a great diversity of interests in this vast territory which stretches almost across the Eastern Continent. Will it be possible to keep it one unit? Will there not come a time when the Russians in Siberia will clash with the Russians west of the Ural Mountains?

In addition to this tremendous colonial enterprise, Russia has the protectorates of Bokhara and Khiva in south central Asia, and a sphere of influence in Persia and in Afghanistan, sufficient to keep England from coming northward.

JAPAN: Necessity for Colonies.—Japan was placed in the ranks of colonial powers by the territory ceded to her by the treaties closing the China-Japan and the Russia-Japan Wars.

The location of Japan's possessions is advantageous, in that they are practically extensions of the territory of the homeland.

The limited area of Japan and the density of the population make colonies a necessity to this nation's prosperity and growth. If Japan had no colonial possessions of her

[3] Bigelow: "Children of the Nations."

[4] Thomas F. Millard: "America and the New Far East."

own, her population would emigrate to the colonies of other nations, unless excluded, and aid in developing them. Being a manufacturing nation with but a limited home supply of raw materials, colonies are necessary as a source from which additional supplies for productive consumption may be drawn.

Policy.—Japan's policy is to encourage by every means within her power, emigration of her people to her new possessions. In the Japanese territory of Kwantung, there were in 1910, about 30,000 Japanese, exclusive of troops. In 1907, the Japanese population of Formosa was about 78,000, and in 1906, about 18,000 Japanese emigrants had settled in Sakhalin. The colonies in the new unsettled regions are settlement colonies.

Schools are being established in these colonies and the resources, as agriculture, mining, and fishing, are being developed and improved. Transportation facilities are being increased, internal improvements, as irrigation schemes and harbor improvements, carried forward with great rapidity. All kinds of industries suitable to the regions are being introduced.

In southern Manchuria, by the Portsmouth treaty, certain railroad privileges were given Japan. It may be said that Japan has in this Chinese province a "railway zone of influence," which aggregates about seventy square miles.[5] Extensive mining privileges have been claimed and Japan has much capital invested in this region and exercises considerable indirect control. There are over 20,000 Japanese in this Japanese sphere of influence.

PRESENT POSSESSIONS OF MINOR POWERS.

DENMARK:
- *Iceland.*
- *Greenland.*
- In West Indies—
  - *St. Croix Island.*
  - *St. Thomas Island.*
  - *St. John Island.*

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[5] "Japan Year Book" (1910).

Iceland has virtually a responsible government. The executive authority is a governor appointed by the Crown, but his acts are open to criticism by the legislative body.

Legislative power is vested in the Althing, or national legislature, consisting of two houses, part elected by the people and part appointed by the Crown.

Greenland is valuable chiefly as a government monopoly over the fur trade. Its public affairs are in the hands of the governor, and agents, responsible to a board sitting in Copenhagen.

The West Indian possessions are crown colonies.

ITALY:

Eritrea.
Italian Somaliland.
Tientsin (concession).

Eritrea.—The Italian possessions on the Red Sea are constituted as the colony of Eritrea with an autonomous government. The executive official is a governor, who is under the direction of the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Italian Government.

Italian Somaliland, a protectorate, is administered by a civil governor.

The Concession of Tientsin came under control of Italy by agreement with China in 1902. It lies on the left bank of the Pei and has an area of about 18 square miles.

BELGIUM.

Kongo Free State.—The executive authority is vested in a governor-general assisted by several vice-governors-general. The territory is divided into fourteen administrative districts. At the head of each is a commissioner.

In Belgium there is a Colonial Council of 14 members, 8 appointed by the King, 3 chosen by the senate, and 3 by the chamber of representatives. The Minister for the Colonies is president of the council.

GERMANY:

Africa—

Togoland.
Kamerun.
German South West Africa.
German East Africa.

Asia—

Kiaochow.

In the Pacific—

German New Guinea.
Kaiser Wilhelm's Land.
Bismarck Archipelago.
Caroline Islands.
Pelew Islands.
Marianas Islands.
Solomon Islands.
Marshall Islands.
Samoan Islands (*Savaii, Upolu*).

Each of the German protectorates in Africa is administered by an Imperial governor assisted by subordinate officials and small local councils.[6]

Kiaochow.—This protectorate is under the administration of the Navy Department and a naval officer is governor.

All the possessions in the Pacific, except the Samoan Islands, form part of the protectorate of German New Guinea which is administered by an Imperial governor.

The two *Samoan Islands* are administered by an Imperial governor. Subordinate to the governor is a native high chief and a native council.

JAPAN:

Korea (*Chosen*).
Formosa (*Taiwan*).
Pescadores (*Hokoto*).
Sakhalin (part) (*Karafuto*).
Kwantung.

[6] According to current report (November, 1911), Germany and France have signed an agreement by which Germany withdraws from Morocco, in return for which France cedes to Germany a strip of the coast of French Kongo, south of Spanish Guinea. This strip is said to be 350 miles long.

By the Russian-Japanese treaty in 1905, Russia acknowledged Japan's paramount interests in Korea. The Anglo-Japanese agreement of the same year contains similar recognition on the part of Great Britain. A treaty between Korea and Japan, signed also in 1905, placed the control of the foreign affairs of Korea in the hands of Japan and provided that a Japanese resident-general should be stationed at Seoul. By a treaty in 1907, Korea agreed that all administrative measures and all high official appointments, should be subject to approval of the resident-general and Japanese subjects were declared eligible for official positions in Korea. An agreement in 1909, delegated to Japan the administration of justice and prisons in Korea.

By the treaty of August 23, 1910 between Korea and Japan, the Korean territory was annexed to the Empire of Japan. The Emperor of Korea was deprived of all political power and accorded the title of Prince Yi. The title of the country is changed to "Chosen" and the office of Japanese Governor-General is established. Henceforth Korea is an integral part of the Japanese Empire.

Formosa or *Taiwan,* was ceded to Japan by China in 1895. It is governed by direct administration. The executive official is the governor-general.

Pescadores, or *Hokoto,* ceded in 1895, are governed as a crown colony.

Sakhalin (part) *Karafuto.* The southern half of the island of Sakhalin was ceded to Japan in 1905. The government is administered through a civil administration office. The representative of the home government is the civil governor.

Kwantung.—By the Portsmouth treaty, 1905, the southern part of Liaotung Peninsula, including Port Arthur, was leased to Japan. It is governed by direct administration. The executive official is the governor-general who has the general direction of various political affairs subject to the supervision of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. He is also in command of the troops in the territory.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE UNITED STATES.

EXPANSION.—It was not until the close of the nineteenth century that the United States was recognized, generally, as a colonial power. The reason for this was, that until Alaska was purchased, in 1867, the territorial expansion of the Republic had been in contiguous territory and the settlements had not been called colonies but Territories and States. But the insular possessions that came under the rule of the Republic by annexation and by the treaty closing the war with Spain, placed the United States, by international recognition, among the colonial powers of the world.

Before this time, according to Channing, the United States by its "internal colonization" was entitled to be recognized as one of the greatest and most successful colonizing powers in the world.[1] In a century the nation had expanded from a fringe of little States on the Atlantic seaboard, to an empire extending from ocean to ocean, and holding "dominion over palm and pine." The population had increased twenty-fold and eighty millions of people instead of four millions looked to the Stars and Stripes for protection.

Barbarous tribes had been subjugated and brought into touch with the benefits of civilization. Great States had been carved out of the prairies, the plains, and the mountains. Under the protection of the Government of the United States, settlement colonies had been planted in all the regions it had acquired. Colonists from every country in Europe, as well as from the States of the young Republic, had been given opportunity to become home owners and by their own toil, independent. The soil, the forests, the mountains, had been made to yield wealth far beyond the most extravagant

[1] W. E. Channing: "Student's History of United States."

fancies of the early seekers for the Eldorado. Where the Indian tepee had been, cities were built. The products of civilized man rolled in endless trains over railways laid along the trails where once the hunter carried home the trophies of the chase or of savage warfare. In the area actually settled, peopled, and made productive, no other nation in history can show a record equal to that of the United States in the nineteenth century.

POLICY.—The Ordinance of 1787 was in reality a plan for colonial government, a constitution for the colonies which the United States should establish in the public domain. For the first time in modern history, colonists were regarded as the equals of the dwellers in the mother country, for this Ordinance, which provided for the control of these colonies, guaranteed equal rights to settlers and provided for their admission to full political rights as soon as their numbers justified an expensive form of government.[1] Under this Ordinance, or constitution for the colonies thirty-five States have been colonized, developed, organized as territories, and when ready, made a part of the Union.

Since 1898 the colonial policy of the United States has been modified. The acquisition of territory which brought people of different races and different civilization under its control made this necessary. Full civil liberty cannot be granted to a people who have had little or no experience in exercising such powers or enjoying such privileges and who are sometimes in revolt. Industries, commerce, education, the entire standard of civilization of a people must be raised equal to that of the self-governing people of the world before it would be wise or just to empower them with civil rights. So the United States, at the beginning of the twentieth century, divided its territories into "two classes having a different political status; the one constituting the United States proper and enjoying full political rights and privileges, and the other dependent territory in subordination

[1] It is noteworthy that this first instrument of the Republic for governing people subject to, but having no part in the central government, should incorporate the principal rights which the people of the United States, while colonists, had claimed for themselves in 1776.

to the former, and having its form of government and the rights of its inhabitants determined for it." [3]

While this is the underlying principle for the present control of the insular possessions of the Republic, special policies for the different possessions had to be adopted, as each dependency presented its own peculiar conditions. On the policy adopted for the Philippines, Millard [4] writes as follows:

"In attempting to formulate a Philippine policy, the United States had a choice of several alternatives; to exploit the islands chiefly for the benefit of the external sovereign power, using force to maintain order and compel submission; to govern the islands by force, but with justice and an equity, subordinated only to broader national interests; to administer the islands with a view to inculcating liberal political principles, affording practice in the exercise, and ultimately granting local self-government when the people are fitted for it.

"The first mentioned policy is substantially exemplified in the Dutch administration in Java and Celebes, the second by British rule in India and Egypt. Of the third, modern history affords no parallel, but the United States Government elected to try this experiment believing it to accord better with the principles of its Constitution."

In the expressed opinions of those experienced in Oriental colonization there was but one sentiment on this policy, and that was that the United States was trying an expensive, useless, altruistic experiment.

The world is still watching, suspending judgment until definite results in this experiment in Asiatic colonization shall have been reached. It is not alone the people of the Philippine Islands that the results will affect. Should these results prove that industrially and commercially the Filipinos will rise to the "new occasions and new duties," that they will grasp and put into practice, "certain great principles of government which have been made the basis of our

[3] W. F. Willoughby: "Territories and Dependencies of the United States."

[4] Millard: "America and the New Far East."

governmental system which we deem essential to the rule of law and the maintenance of individual freedom . . . . and also certain practical rules of government which we have found to be essential to the preservation of these great principles of liberty and law . . . . which must be established and maintained in their Islands for the sake of their liberty and happiness," [5] other colonial powers may try similar experiments in other oriental countries. The people of the Philippines are in the crucible: if the tests prove them to be only pyrites it may mean less opportunity; if gold, greater opportunity to millions of human beings.

COLONIES.—The outlying possessions of the United States, taken with the western part of the country, form a girdle around the Pacific Ocean.

POSSESSIONS.

Alaska.
Hawaiian Islands.
Philippine Islands.
Guam.
Samoan Islands.
Midway, Howland, Baker, and Wake Islands.
Island of Porto Rico.
Panama Canal Zone.

Alaska.—This possession is not organized into a territory. It is a district; it has no representative assembly, nor any form of constitution. It has no power of self-government, but is governed directly by Congress. For the past ten years, this district has had a delegate in Congress, elected by popular vote. This delegate has no vote in Congress.

The Government of the district is administered by a governor, a surveyor-general, and other subordinate officials, appointed for four years, by the President. There are four Federal courts. In addition to these, there are lower courts presided over by United States Commissioners. Since 1900,

[5] President McKinley's Instructions to the Philippine Commission, 1900.

towns with a certain number of inhabitants may incorporate and administer their own affairs.

The Hawaiian Islands were a Republic for four years, then in accordance with the resolution of Congress of July 7, 1898, the Islands were, on August 12, 1898, formally annexed to the United States. On June 14, 1900, they were constituted the "Territory of Hawaii."

The governor and the secretary are appointed for four years by the President of the United States. There is a legislature of two houses, a senate of 15 members, elected for four years, and a house of representatives, of 30 members, elected for two years. The territory is represented in Congress by a delegate elected every two years. This delegate has no vote.

Philippine Islands.—From the date of American occupation, August 13, 1898, until July 4, 1901, the Philippines were under military government. On the latter date the civil government was inaugurated.

The Philippine Commission, consisting of 9 members, 5 being Americans and 4 Filipinos, constitute the executive department of the Insular, or Central Government. The chief executive is the Governor-General who is *ex officio* member and President of the Commission. There are four executive departments in the Commission: Interior, Finance and Justice, Commerce and Police, and Public Instruction. The heads of these departments are called Secretaries. Three of the Secretaries are Americans and one is a Filipino. The Commission also constitutes the upper house, or Senate of the Insular Legislature. The Philippine Assembly, composed of members elected by popular vote, constitutes the lower house. This Assembly first convened October 16, 1907.

Each of the thirty-eight provinces has a governor, secretary, treasurer, and prosecuting attorney. The provincial governor is elected by popular vote, except in the six provinces inhabited largely by non-Christian tribes, in which the governor is appointed by the Governor-General with the advice and consent of the Philippine Commission. The government of the towns is practically autonomous.

Parts of Mindanao and the Sulu islands, which are inhabited by the Moros, are under semi-military government, most of the offices being filled by military officers.

There are two Resident Delegates to the United States, elected by the Philippine Legislature. They have no vote in Congress. The Insular Government is directly under the War Department of the Government of the United States.

Guam.—This island is a naval station and the naval commandant is also, by appointment by the President of the United States, governor of the island.

Samoan Islands.—The Island of Tutuila and certain other islands of the Samoan group, east of longitude 171°, by agreement with Germany and Great Britain in January, 1900, came under the control of the United States. The Island of Tutuila is a naval station and the commandant, by appointment of the President of the United States, is governor.

Midway, Wake, Howland, and *Baker Islands* are practically uninhabited, and no provisions for government are necessary.

Porto Rico.—This dependency acquired by cession from Spain in 1898, was at first under military rule. The Organic Act establishing civil government was passed by Congress in April 1900. It has been modified by several amendments. At the present time, the governor and executive council, consisting of 11 members, 5 of whom must be Porto Ricans, are appointed by the President of the United States for a term of four years. This council is the upper house in the Legislative Assembly. The lower house, or House of Delegates, consists of 35 members elected by the qualified voters of the island. Six of the members of the Executive Council form the heads of the executive departments. A Resident Commissioner is sent from Porto Rico to Washington with the same privileges as delegates from the Territories. Local government has been created by the insular authorities. In the courts of justice, the higher judges

are appointed by the President, the lower by the Insular Governor.[6]

Panama Canal Zone.—As the Republic of Colombia would not grant favorable terms to the United States to build the Panama Canal, a part of the Republic most concerned in the Canal, rebelled and organized the independent Republic of Panama, and offered an acceptable treaty to the United States, which was ratified in 1904.

By this treaty, the United States was given control of the Panama Canal Zone. This is a strip of territory five miles wide on each side of the Canal. For this cession, the United States paid the Panama Republic ₱20,000,000 and agreed to pay annually ₱500,000, beginning nine years after the Canal is finished.

The Zone is governed temporarily under the direction of the War Department, by a Commission of 7 men appointed by the President. The Commission has been granted authority to establish a civil service and to legislate, subject to the approval of Secretary of War, on all subjects not inconsistent with the laws and treaties of the United States.

[6] In December, 1910, a revised "Organic Act," Olmstead Bill, passed the lower house of the United States Congress but has not yet been passed on by the Senate. This bill, in its projected form, grants collective American citizenship to Porto Ricans, makes the upper house partially elective, makes changes in the appointment of judiciary, and in the insular government separates the executive and the legislative. (November, 1911).

CHAPTER XV.

CHINA.

For centuries, China was only a geographic name to the rest of the civilized world. This is no longer true. It is to-day a subject of absorbing interest in every country. For the remarkable transformation that this most populous, most conservative of nations is undergoing will affect, in its results, every country on the globe.

China is a colonizing power and as such has a place in colonial history. As her colonial expansion antedates by centuries that of any other existing nation, she is the oldest of the colonizing powers controlling dependencies to-day. Then the fact that the leading colonial powers of Europe have now, and have had for over three centuries, relations with China through their commercial colonies, is another reason why the nation should be studied as part of the history of colonization. The commercial relations and spheres of influence which were forced upon China by the European nations, have been largely instrumental in arousing the nation and in stirring up the stagnant pools of her civilization.

FOREIGN POWERS IN CHINA.—*Portugal* was the first European power to open up trade relations with China. The ships of this nation first came to Chinese shores in 1511, and had succeeded, by 1518, in establishing a trading post at Macao and factories at Ningpo, Foochow, and Amoy. *Spain's* commercial relations with China were carried on through the Philippine Islands. The *Dutch* came in 1622 and after being defeated at Macao by the Portuguese, and driven off the Pescadores Islands by the Chinese, finally

established two posts on the island of Formosa. *England* made several attempts to open trade relations with China. The first was in 1635. But the efforts of the Portuguese at Macao prevented the English from obtaining a foothold in China until 1684. The *United States* first began trading with China in 1784, though no American trading posts or factories were ever established in the country.

According to one writer, the following record of the first arrival of Europeans, taken from a Chinese work, was good authority not many years ago, in the general opinion of the natives: "During the reign of Chingtili foreigners from the West called Fah-lanki (Franks) who said that they had tribute, abruptly entered the Bogue and by their tremendously loud guns shook the place far and near. This was reported at court and an order returned to drive them away immediately and stop their trade. At about this time also the Hollanders, who in ancient times inhabited a wild territory and had no intercourse with China, came to Macao in two or three large ships. Their clothes and their hair were red; their bodies tall; they had blue eyes sunk deep in their heads. Their feet were one cubit and two-tenths long and they frightened the people by their strange appearance."[1]

In 1736, four English ships, two French, two Dutch, one Danish, and one Swedish ship loaded cargoes at Canton. This gives an idea of the amount of the foreign trade nearly two centuries ago. At this date, the Portuguese were restricted to Macao.

As the Chinese Government proceeded on the rule that "the barbarians (foreigners) are like beasts, and are not to be ruled on the same principle as citizens, therefore to rule barbarians by misrule is the true and best way to rule them," there was more or less friction between the trading nations and the Chinese. This came to a crisis between England and China after the withdrawal of the East India Company in 1834. During this company's power, trade was carried on through a committee of the

[1] Samuel Wells Williams: "The Middle Kingdom."

native merchants, called Co-hong and a representative of the government from Peking, the Hoppo.

When Lord Napier arrived at Canton in 1835, as the commercial representative of England, the Chinese merchants objected because he desired to make the trade regulations through the viceroy of the province instead of through the Hoppo. A trade deadlock followed. Captain Elliot, who succeeded Lord Napier, had no better success. A new factor was introduced in the trouble by the Chinese Government's beginning at this time, a campaign against the importing of opium. They desired, either to abolish the importing of the drug or to subject it to governmental regulation. Some trouble over a cargo of opium in Canton brought things to a crisis, and what is known as the "Opium War" followed. But opium was not the real cause of the war. The cause was, that England insisted on treating on terms of equality with the Chinese Government. Stated broadly, "the first war with China was but the beginning of a struggle between the extreme East and the West; the East refusing to treat on terms of equality, diplomatically or commercially, with Western nations, and the West insisting on its right to be so treated." [2]

After three years the war was closed by the treaty of Nanking. Among the terms of the treaty which was concluded in August, 1842, were the following: Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, and Shanghai were to be opened as treaty ports where foreigners could reside and carry on trade. The Island of Hongkong was to be ceded to Great Britain; fair tariff rates were to be imposed at the treaty ports. Official correspondence was to be carried on upon equal terms by the two nations. By this treaty the first cession of Chinese territory was ceded to a European nation. Shortly after the treaty had been ratified at Peking similar treaties were made with China, first by the United States and then by France.

But things did not go well with the merchants at Canton and the differences culminated in a second war in 1856. France made an alliance with England in this war, to

[2] Dr. Hawks Potts: "Sketch of Chinese History."

avenge a French missionary who had been murdered in Kwangsi. The principal terms of the treaty of Tientsin which closed the war were: Five more treaty ports, among them Tientsin, were to be opened; the British were to have the privilege of appointing a minister to reside at Peking; they were to have a trading sphere of influence on the Yangtze, and Kowloon was added to the English territorial concessions.

Korea was a vassal kingdom of China, but since the sixteenth century Japan had had a settlement at Kusan. After some trouble in 1876, Japan insisted on the right of Japanese to reside in other parts of Korea on the same terms as Europeans lived in Japan. This led to the opening up of Korea to other foreign powers by China.

This opening up of Korea indirectly led to the Chinese-Japanese War (1895–96) in which new Japan gained its first victory over a foreign power.

After Japan had defeated the country for which she had always had a certain filial devotion, France, Russia, and Germany combined and forced this rising power in the East to give up the most valuable part of the fruits of her victory, the Liaotung peninsula. However, Japan did secure as a result of the war her first acquisitions of foreign territory, the Pescadores Islands and Formosa. The independence of Korea was recognized by the treaty closing the war and four more treaty ports were opened.

It was after this war that the European powers recognizing how helpless the nation was, began to slice off the most valuable parts of China's coast. England secured Wei-hai-Wei, Germany seized Kiaochow, Russia secured Port Arthur, one of the strongest naval bases in the world, France took Kwangchow, "so as to restore the balance of power in the Far East," and Italy tried to get a piece but failed. True, all these concessions were leased, but the Government of China knew that not one of the leases would expire so long as the nation could hold the territory.

As England was the first nation to really bring China into national intercourse with other nations, so this country has been most influential in China's affairs. Through the

efforts of England and the United States the "open door" has been maintained in treaty cessions. France and Russia have always opposed this policy in China, and Germany has supported it only in theory.

THE PARTITION OF CHINA.—After the China-Japan War and the cessions of territory to the European powers, it came to be an accepted idea outside of China that in time, the whole Empire would be divided or as the Chinese express it, the "melon would be sliced." The question seemed to be not, "Will the Empire cease to exist as a whole?" but "What part will each nation get?" It was felt that the nation was so weak, so corrupt, so hopelessly out of touch with modern ideas in government and industries, in fact with everything that makes the national life of a people, that she could not maintain her integrity. Even many Chinese saw no help. Prince Kung, "with one of the keenest minds in modern times, with a successful public career of nearly forty years, had no hope for his country, for the possibility of reform or for the security of the government. He said to Li-Hung-Chang in 1896, 'nothing can be done.' "

But the talk of partition, the many cessions, and the appreciation of what Japan had accomplished in a few years stirred China. A very bitter anti-foreign spirit sprang up and culminated in the Boxer trouble in 1900 when the combined forces of the nations of Europe, United States, and Japan, marched to Peking to relieve the besieged legations.

If China was to be dismembered and distributed among the nations, 1900 was the time. Instead, principally through the efforts of Sir Robert Hart, Inspector-General of Maritime Customs, and Mr. John Hay, Secretary of State of the United States, the integrity of China was guaranteed by the powers of Europe, United States, and Japan. The arguments of these two men were emphasized by the fact that the viceroys of the leading southern and central provinces had made arrangements with the consuls-general at Shanghai that no foreign troops should be sent into their provinces so long as they kept free from the Boxer movement. The arguments of these diplomats were further emphasized by

a keener realization in Europe of how vast in extent the Empire of China is and how enormous its population. No one nation could afford to hold even a part of one province; it would be equal to an empire, and would be a heavier burden than one power could stand. No nation is strong enough or rich enough to undertake the expense of maintaining a force sufficient to control it. It was appreciated that there was truth in the answer of the Grand Secretary who, when asked, "How can you resist?" replied, "We will call forth our millions to fight." The extent of the Empire and the four and one-half hundred millions of population, if nothing else, will keep China from being partitioned. So the question of "slicing the melon" can be pigeonholed, for nations no longer will discuss it.

SIR ROBERT HART.—Any account, however brief, of the relations of the foreign powers with China and the changes they have wrought would not be complete without some special mention of the work of Sir Robert Hart. In 1861, it was realized by the Chinese Government as well as by the foreign trade representatives, that the foreign customs service must be improved or rather organized. The native service had been seriously interfered with by the Taiping Rebellion, so the office of "Inspector-General of Maritime Customs" was created and Mr. Robert Hart, an Englishman, was appointed to fill the office.

The two aims in establishing the inspectorate were, to secure from the foreign traders a revenue, and to secure to the Government the advantages of the western system and organization in the revenue service.

The Inspector-General organized and directed four departments; the Revenue Department, the Marine Department, the Educational Department (now the Imperial University), and the Postal Department (now a separate department under the general government). When Mr. Hart began his work there were seven treaty ports; there are now forty-three. To simplify a complex system and to fit together the Chinese and the foreign sides of the administration was the task of the first years; but it was done on what promises to be lasting lines.

No one man has been so powerful in the awakening and transforming of old China into the coming new China as this first Inspector-General.

H. B. Morse, a commissioner of customs in China, thus writes of him (1906) :[3] "Probably of no other man in the world, with so much personal power and such extended patronage at his disposal, can it be said, as it can of him, that his appointments of men connected with himself by ties of friendship or of relationship have been so few. In general, under the administration of Sir Robert Hart (he was knighted in 1882) there was developed a strong loyal, honest, well-organized, cosmopolitan service."[4]

The Chinese Government trusted him fully and it is said that during his almost half a century of service not even a breath of suspicion was thrown on his entire loyalty to the people whose salt he ate. Mr. Morse pays this further tribute: "For native ability and power of organization he may be compared in one aspect or another, with John Lawrence and Alexander Hamilton. His monument is in the service he created and his life record is in the history of the foreign relations of China during a period of forty years of transition. Another will sit in his chair, another will sign as Inspector-General, but in the history of China there will be but one 'I. G.' "

HOW CHINA IS BEING TRANSFORMED.—The following remarks by Chinese statesmen show that there is among the thinkers of China a realization of the dangers threatening the Empire. The first one was made several years ago. "There are two possible futures for our nation; a reorganization of its administration on modern lines, or disintegration and a final lapse into complete foreign domination. China is rapidly nearing a parting of the ways, and she must choose her course while she may be permitted to choose." The following was recently said: "The internal stability of China has been due to official jealousies. Her

[3] H. B. Morse: "Trade and Administration of the Chinese Empire."

[4] In 1906 there were nineteen different nationalities represented among the employees in the Chinese maritime customs service. This illustrates to what extent the service was cosmopolitan.

national existence is due to international jealousies. The Chinese Government is indestructible from within but is unable to resist external pressure. As we cannot tell when the international balance of power, which depends largely upon its balance of interest will shift, it will not do indefinitely to depend upon it to preserve our sovereignty. This can be done only by developing a new national life, by reforming our Government."

China has chosen the policy of transformation and reorganization. Some of the principal lines only of this policy are here mentioned.

Before the China-Japan war, each province in China considered itself as unconnected with the other provinces and as having no concern as to what happened outside of its own boundary. In wars, it was only the provinces directly concerned that took any special interest. This was true even in the China-Japan war. The southern provinces felt no particular interest, looking upon the war as concerning only the northern provinces. There was no such sentiment as patriotism among the Chinese; there was only a provincial pride, a local patriotism, a feeling that would make a man want to be buried in his native village, but not a feeling that would make him willing to die for his country. All this is changing. A feeling of united interest is growing. The different provinces are beginning to recognize a common bond; are standing together on questions of common concern: This will make a nation of China instead of loosely bound provinces.

The changes in the educational system in the past fifteen years have been most radical. The Chinese have awakened to the realization of the value of education on modern lines. The old literary examinations for degrees have been abolished and the whole educational system is being reorganized, following European systems. Modern schools in China are not new, as missionary schools and colleges have been established there for years, but this new system is for the nation. There is a National Board of Education with delegates in each province and a complete system from primary school to university is being established. Some idea may be gained

of the rapid development of the new system by the fact that in 1909 there were 1,284,965 students studying under the European system of education. This does not include those studying in the missionary educational institutions. Statistics of this same year show that in the provinces there were 42,444 private and official colleges on the new lines. For years, numbers of Chinese students have gone abroad to study. It is estimated that there are at least fifty thousand students from China at the present time studying in foreign countries.

To this educational reform add the power of the press, which is a new factor in popular education in China, but which is rapidly making the country a newspaper reading people, and there can be but one result, old China will pass away and a new changed China thinking as the rest of the world thinks, will take its place.

It is conceded that there is no power so strong in civilizing the uncivilized and in bringing the old civilizations abreast with the new, as the railroad. In 1888 there was not a railroad in China, now (1911) there are five thousand miles with two thousand miles more planned and financed. These figures tell their own tale. In addition to this means of communication, telegraph lines now connect all parts of the Empire.

These railroads have been built principally by foreigners under concessions given for that purpose by the Chinese Government. China has protected her own interests very well in these railway grants. The construction company, in return for the risk of loan and labor of management, gets five per cent interest on the total cost of construction and twenty per cent of the net profits of operation. The Chinese exploitation company, whose only service is to purchase the land for the right of way, takes forty per cent of the net profits, and the Government, in addition to the reservation of the right to use the lines at half rates for transporting troops and ammunition, takes forty per cent of the net profits and has the final reversion of the lines. In order to protect the sovereign rights of China, the control of all railway companies, irrespective of the foreign

capital concerned, must remain in the hands of the Chinese.[4] (Reinsch's "World Politics" is the authority for this paragraph.)

The mines of China have been worked by the Chinese farther back than is recorded, but only in recent years have the methods been improved or changed from these early times. Mining concessions to foreign companies have wrought great changes and superstition which did, and does yet to a considerable extent, interfere with the industry, is being overcome. The Government has always retained the right to twenty-five per cent of the profits in the mining concessions to foreigners.

The Chinese are keenly alive to any improvement in a mechanical line and in any practical everyday utility. Nothing better illustrates the eagerness with which new utilities are taken up than the rapid adoption of the use of kerosene oil. It is said that the two most powerful factors in the transforming of China are the railways and the Standard Oil Company. Interest in modern machinery is intense and the Chinese show themselves adept in the using of machines and are fairly quick in mastering them. The introduction of machinery is being pushed rapidly and even now China is grinding the flour which only yesterday she imported, and the same is true in many other lines of manufacturing.

Greater than all these changes is the demand for a parliamentary form of government. This was promised by the late Emperor and Empress Dowager in a decree of 1908 announcing a convocation of a parliament and proclamation of constitution in the ninth year from that date. Already there has been a beginning. On October 14, 1910, the first session of provincial assemblies in China met. The bodies were deliberative only, but their recommendations were heeded by many governors and viceroys and some serious abuses were remedied. A national senate composed

[4] In 1910 the Chinese Government tried to borrow the money necessary to nationalize the railroads in China, and thus secure entire control of them. There was popular opposition to this plan in China. Whether this matter in any way hastened the outbreak of the revolution in 1911 is not certain. That it had some influence is generally believed.

of two hundred picked men from the nobility, from the metropolitan officials, and from the provinces met in Peking in the same month. It is thought by some that the demand for another house, thus making a national parliament, may not be delayed until the date set by their late Majesties. A National Parliament means old China will indeed have passed away and new China will have taken her place among the powerful nations of the world.[5]

A NEW CHINA: EFFECT ON THE WORLD.—The principal effect will be in the field of industry. In natural resources no country can compare with China. Every variety of soil and climate makes her agricultural possibilities unlimited; in mineral resources, gold, silver, copper, above all, iron and coal, the most conservative estimates seem fabulous, and these estimates are made with little concern for the vast unknown parts of the Empire. China has been using the gold, silver, and copper for centuries but the supply has hardly been touched. As to her coal, Baron von Richtofen, a geologic authority, states that at the present rate of consumption, the coal fields of China could supply the world for twenty centuries.

Besides the supply of raw materials which China has in more than abundance and the transportation facilities with which the country is being webbed, the Empire has unlimited labor, an important economic factor. This labor is hardy, energetic, healthy, frugal, able to live on little, willing to

[5] No longer need we say "China is awakening," for China is awake. Less than a month after this chapter on China was written, there was an uprising in the province of Szechwan which spread rapidly to other provinces, showing that the movement was an organized one. It was a matter of days only, before the surprised world recognized that there was a revolution in progress in China, not an insurrection, not a rebellion.

On the Manchu dynasty the revolutionists, with justice, place the blame, the responsibility of China's long centuries of stagnation and political corruption. The revolutionists demand the abdication of the present ruler, and the overthrow of the dynasty. They further demand the establishment of a republic.

Whatever the result of the present crisis, one thing is sure, China is no longer marking time in the march of civilization. (November, 1911.)

work fourteen hours a day without complaint; and can work under the tropical sun or in the arctic cold with the same cheerfulness. There is not a peasant class in the world that can as workers compare with the Chinese peasants. Neither in another place in the world is there such an army of workers that call one man ruler as in China. "The Province of Szechwan alone can muster more able-bodied men than the German Empire; the Province of Shantung can boast of as many native-born sons as France."

With the natural resources and this capable population, combine capital, and China may be, during the present century, the industrial center of the world. The best authorities on China, believe the country has the capital as well as the resources and labor. The lack is the experience and the ability to organize it.

All these facts showing the potential productive power of China point to the conclusion that the effect on the world of the new China will be industrial and economic, but how great that effect will be, to what degree its influence will be felt, is beyond conjecture even. But that four hundred and fifty millions of people, industrious and with all the resources they can use, means a formidable factor or competitor in the industrial field is a conclusion that must be given credence.

CHINA AS A COLONIAL POWER.—China, originally a Mongolian colony, is unique in that it developed, almost uninfluenced by alien races, its own civilization.

The colonial expansion of China has never had any other motive than that of material need. Religion, love of conquest, or desire for acquisition of territory never entered into the motives which impelled the Chinese to settle new lands.

Theirs was a simple, natural, primitive colonization. Whenever a community became too thickly populated for its productive resources the Chinese spread out over contiguous territory. It was an economic expansion. Then the Chinaman is by nature a trader. His commercial ventures took him as far east as the Caspian Sea, and south into India; the shores of western and southern Asia, for

centuries, have been dotted with his trading posts; while no inhabited island in all the southern seas was too insignificant for his trading junk to visit. This commerce led the Chinese to settle in large numbers in all these regions. One writer [6] designates these settlers and settlements as China's "potential colonial empire." To quote from this same writer; "Had the capacities and disposition of the home government admitted of an extension of control analogous to that exercised by much weaker European nations over more ephemeral European settlements, in lands far less accessible, we might here be studying the Chinese settlements as full fledged Chinese colonies. However, governmental activity of this kind is an evolved product, and China had not developed it."

The territory under Chinese rule, to-day, is contiguous, but enormous areas of this territory are controlled as dependencies. Of the line of dependencies which formed the land frontier of China, four, Anam, Burma, Siam, and Korea have been lost, two others, Manchuria, and Chinese Turkestan, or the New Dominion (Sinkiang), have been incorporated as provinces of the Empire; the two dependencies left are Tibet and Mongolia.

Tibet is a good-sized empire in itself, its greatest length being over twelve hundred miles and its breadth over seven hundred miles. It is sparsely settled. Little is known of its natural resources, but one recognized authority says that it is enormously rich, "possibly the richest country in the world."

Mongolia.—This dependency is almost as large as the eighteen provinces of old China proper, and one hundred times as large as Holland. Its population does not average two to the square mile. Here, China is now pushing internal colonization, by giving encouragement to the agricultural emigrants. Land is sold at merely nominal prices. The country is being settled, not just explored; villages are being built and schools established. The frontier is slowly but surely pushing northward.

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[6] Keller: "Colonization."

THE CHINESE AS COLONISTS.—In the past the Chinaman has been colonizing the world as the German has. Everywhere but in new territory belonging to his own country he can be found. He is the best colonist in the world in that he can "endure both heat and cold and is the only man who appears to love work for its own sake."[7] He is found everywhere doing all kinds of work and always making money whether it be in Africa, Alaska or Argentina.

But the Chinaman, though he readily adapts himself to any conditions, is little influenced by his environment. He never loses his own individual characteristics. His religion, customs, habits of industry and frugality, commercial ability and instincts, remain almost wholly uninfluenced. No matter where he may go or what he may do he is always a Chinaman, fundamentally the same as his brother who has never left the home village.

In the future, instead of leaving the shores of China or, as one writer puts it, "spilling over the sea wall," the Chinese may spread inland, settling the country and developing the riches of Manchuria, Mongolia, Tibet, and Turkestan. When this is done neither the regions of Africa or South America can compete in value with the colonies of China.

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[7] Bigelow: "Children of the Nations."

CHAPTER XVI.

THE LABOR QUESTION.

The question of how to secure an adequate labor supply in colonies is an important one in modern colonization and one that has not yet been answered satisfactorily. For colonies may be rich in resources and with capital supplied in abundance from the home country and other sources, yet they cannot be developed and made of value without labor. To obtain a supply of this necessary factor of production, five methods have been tried: (1) forced labor; (2) sale of public lands at high price and appropriation of proceeds in payment of wages sufficiently high to induce immigration; (3) importation of labor under contract; (4) the development of transportation and communication facilities so as to make the industries of the colonies more profitable and thus stimulate labor; (5) increasing the varieties of industries and thus encouraging the native to labor and to engage in individual enterprises. Of these five methods, the three first named may be termed artificial methods, the two last named, natural methods.

There are several kinds and degrees of *forced labor.* Only the three kinds that have been most important in colonization will be considered here.

Slavery blackened the record of almost every colony until the first half of the nineteenth century. This was especially true in the Western Hemisphere. From the founding of the first settlements in this hemisphere attempts were made to enslave the Indians, but they never made profitable slaves. Then African slaves were introduced, and by this labor the tropical and subtropical colonies in the Americas

and the adjoining islands were developed, until public sentiment in the nineteenth century compelled the freeing of the slaves in all colonies. The consideration of this kind of labor then no longer entered into the discussion of the labor question.

The culture system in Java was a kind of forced labor. By this system the Dutch covered the cultivated parts of the island with roads and erected fine public buildings, and by the government culture crops raised by this forced labor made the colony yield large profits to the Netherlands. Pressure of public opinion and the growing conviction that the system would never give permanent, real development and prosperity to the colony, caused the gradual abolishment of this method of labor.

Convict labor is another kind of forced labor which has been used in a few colonies, principally Australia and Siberia, and to some extent in the Guianas. It is still in use in some of the French island colonies. This method has never been successful, it is too expensive. The one who employs the labor may get the work cheap but society in some way has to make it up.

The second artificial method, *the selling of public lands at high price and appropriating proceeds in payment of wages sufficiently high to induce immigration,* has been tried seriously only in Australia. The method is so radical that it could be experimented with only under peculiarly favorable conditions such as obtained in Australia at the time it was used.

So of the five methods, two have been tried and practically abolished. Considered from the economic viewpoint alone, these methods were unsuccessful. The other three methods are still in the experimental stage.

In the older settlement colonies of the temperate zones where climatic conditions are such that the colonists can do all kinds of work, immigration and the natural increase of population, furnish in time a sufficient labor supply. So the labor question in these regions after the earlier stages in their development have passed, becomes not so much a question of supply of labor as the adjustment of the relation

between capital and labor. It is in the tropics that the problem becomes difficult. Here, the climate makes it impossible, so it is believed, for the colonists from the temperate zones to do bodily labor. Even were this not true, the number of colonists is not sufficient to greatly affect the supply of labor. At the present time, so far as colonization is concerned, the problem of labor supply is confined to the colonies in the tropics and resolves itself into two parts: (*a*) Can the native population be made into a permanent, sufficient, and profitable labor supply? (*b*) If the native population cannot be depended upon for labor, from what regions and by what methods and under what restrictions shall the supply be secured?

As to the first part of the problem, the ability of man to work with efficiency is the principal product of civilization. This being true it is obvious that the native in most tropical colonies does not possess this ability. There is also in him a natural disinclination to work. Nature has been bountiful in her gifts to him so he has never been forced to labor in order to satisfy his few existence wants and consequently, has not formed the habit of working. Now, can this disinclination of so long standing as to have become a racial characteristic, be overcome, and can the ability to work with a practical degree of efficiency be developed in the native of the tropics within a reasonable length of time from the point of view of the colonizer? Convincing answers, both negative and affirmative, are given to the question by equally good authorities.

If the native population can be converted into an efficient labor supply, it must be by the two natural methods; that is, *the industries must be made profitable to the native, and the variety of industries must be increased.* These two methods are receiving more attention at the present time than formerly and are used to some extent in almost all progressive colonies. But this is an industrial age and when capital is interested in industrial enterprises quick returns are demanded. Natural methods are always slower than artificial ones in producing results, and in tropical

colonies the industrial spirit manifests more or less impatience with these two methods of solving the labor problem. But the soundness of the fundamental principles of the methods and their practical common sense commend them to those who can look into the future and who have the real interests of the colony in mind.

Labor to be efficient and permanent must be free. To secure this kind of labor from an untrained, nonworking people, there must be inducements offered and motives created. The rewards for labor must be made sure and proportional to effort. It must be possible for the individual to follow his inclination for and special adaptation to different kinds of work. By education and training the standard of efficiency of workmen and the quality of the work must be raised. Desires and wishes which can be satisfied only by work must be created. These methods cannot fail, with proper attention to health conditions, to provide in a colony, in time, unless the population is too sparse, a supply of labor sufficient for gradual development.

As to the second part of the question: What methods shall be used in securing a supply of labor when it is believed that the native labor is not sufficient or cannot be made efficient enough to be depended upon? The only answer that has thus far been evolved is that of the artificial method of *importation under contract.* By this means laborers are recruited in their native countries and under contract emigrate to the colonies. Their transportation is paid and they are guaranteed certain wages for a term of years. The usual contract is, that at the expiration of this term the "indentured," or contract laborer may remain in the colony as a colonist or he may, if he so desires, return to his native country. If colonists of the class brought in under contract are not desired, however, the laborer may be required to return home at the expiration of the term of contract. Governments now usually require the employers of contract labor to furnish free houses and free medical attendance for the laborers.

Contract labor in colonies is not wholly a new thing. In

the early days of the colonies in North America "indentured" labor from England or the Continent was brought to the colonies. The object was to add to the labor supply and also to increase the permanent population by bringing in a working class of colonists who would be desirable, but who were not able to pay their own transportation.

The method was not used extensively, however, until after the abolishment of slavery in the British tropical colonies. The newly freed slaves in these colonies would not work steadily on the plantations; many of them interpreted freedom to mean idleness and would not work at all; others moved to unoccupied lands and cultivated only enough to supply a bare living. The plantation owners were ruined or threatened with ruin, so labor under contract was imported from China and from the East Indies. This is the system by which a labor supply is obtained now in Jamaica, British Guiana, Mauritius, and the colonies in South and East Africa.

Opinions of men as to the wisdom and success of this system of labor in these colonies are diametrically opposed. On the whole the planters are in favor of it and to the argument that there are plenty of laborers in the colonies, offer the facts that they cannot get a steady supply, that the native will work only part of the time and this irregularity means great loss of crops to the planters. The planter admits that the contract labor is more expensive but insists that it is the only labor that can be depended upon. To the argument that the contract labor makes paupers of the natives is opposed the argument that the imported workmen become customers of the natives in being consumers of products which the natives produce and so instead of pauperizing them really aid in bettering their condition.

The laws governing the importation of labor are strict in the colonies, and it seems to be the opinion of those who have studied the conditions that the immigrant's interests are very well looked after. Judged by the amount of production, the colonies where the system is in use are pros-

perous. It certainly increases the permanent population. In some of the colonies of British West Indies and South America it is estimated that about eighty per cent of the contract laborers continue to work as free laborers on the plantations after the term of their contract expires.

The method of contract labor is used quite extensively in the British colonies in the East Indies. The labor supply problem is easily solved in such colonies as Ceylon where the tea plantations are supplied from thickly populated parts of India. Much of the labor in this colony comes in during the rush season only, and then returns to India. In Burma also, most of the coolie labor is easily secured from India. The skilled labor in this colony is almost wholly from China. It is in the colonies where the native is untrained in regular labor and where the industries are mining or agriculture on a large scale, as on plantations, that the labor problem is most serious. In British East India colonies where these conditions exist, there is no restriction of immigration of labor from any country, either free or under contract. This is the condition in the Malay States. The bringing of labor into these dependencies is considered necessary as the Malayan objects to the hard work on the plantations and in the tin mines. The supply of labor is secured principally through importation by contract from China and India and by encouraging immigration from both these countries. The majority of the laborers are from China and they are assured fair treatment and protection by the appointment of a protector of the Chinese and in some places a Chinese advisory board composed entirely of Chinese from different provinces in China.

It is said by some who have made special investigation of the subject of contract labor in the Malayan States, that the natives of these States have no objection to the immigration of the Chinese or Indians as they do the work that the native objects to doing, and give him an increased market for fish and other products which he has for sale and in many ways help to improve his condition of living. Besides, the imported labor increases the output of the

country and gives a good revenue for internal improvements, the benefits of which the native receives.

In the Dutch colonies in the East Indies, as in Sumatra where the population is sparse, labor is secured by importation under contract from China. The method used is similar to that followed in the Malay States. The laborers are encouraged to stay as settlers after the term of contract has expired by offering land on very easy terms. Almost all the artisans and craftsmen in this colony are Chinese. In Java where the population is five hundred and sixty-one to the square mile, while in Sumatra it is only nine, the immigration of labor is discouraged, only the most desirable class of laborers being permitted to enter. Native labor is receiving more direct encouragement in Java since the abolishment of the culture system. Private ownership of land is now possible. Labor is made more profitable to the individual and is further stimulated by removing the restrictions on crops and by promoting other industries.

In the towns in Java, as in the other Malayan colonies, almost all the skilled workmen and the merchants are Chinese. They are subjected in Java to many restrictions; they may live only in certain places, cannot travel without a special pass, are taxed higher than others and may acquire land only by special permission from the government. In the British colonies there are no restrictions whatever on the Chinese, while in Sumatra there are restrictions only on the places of residence.

The methods which are being applied toward solving the labor question in the Philippine Islands are the two natural methods. Chinese immigration is restricted by an Exclusion Act similar to the one in force in the United States, and the importation of labor under contract is not permitted. This legislative exclusion of foreign labor was authorized after investigations by the United States from which conclusions were drawn that the native supply of labor was sufficient in number and could be made efficient enough to develop the resources of the Islands, though the development would be slower than if labor were imported either by contract or by permitting the immigration of the Chinese.

The principal arguments against the immigration of the Chinese into the Philippines are that they will not remain agriculturists but engage in trade and commerce, and that they are too shrewd and too experienced in mercantile lines for the Filipinos to compete with them.

Investigation has shown that by their frugality, industry, and business sense the Chinese soon control finances and commerce in any colony in the Orient where they are given free access. This is largely true even in Java in spite of the restrictions. Because of this it was thought wiser to keep these lines open to the Filipinos even with a retarded development, than to have them pass under the control of the Chinese and to have the Filipinos relegated in time to the position of unskilled laborers, as is true of the natives in the Malayan States. So the native of the Philippines is being given a chance to become an efficient laborer in all lines of work necessary to bring prosperity to the Islands. His efficiency as a laborer is being developed by training and by encouragement. The policy is to build up a middle class, to give the workman a place of dignity and to protect him in his rights and at the same time secure protection for the one who employs the labor.

CHAPTER XVII.

PROBLEMS IN COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION—HOW THEY ARE BEING SOLVED.

The problems in colonial administration which are of vital interest have for the most part been solved for the colonies in the temperate zones. These colonies have gradually evolved into self-governing colonies and have assumed the responsibility of making regulations on land tenure, public improvements, taxes, education, and other questions pertaining to their internal welfare. So now, the problems of colonial administration chiefly concern the administration of the colonies in the tropics. As the colonies in these regions are no longer looked upon as purely for exploitation purposes with no thought for the native, except as a producer, the problems of local legislation, land ownership, raising revenue, defense, education, industrial development, and capital and commerce are of grave import. For the development, the evolution of the colony, is controlled by the solution of these problems by the colonizing powers. The methods of solution decide, to a great extent, what the future status of each colony shall be industrially and politically, and what opportunity shall be given the natives to attain a place among the civilized peoples of the earth.

Classifying on broad lines, there are three different regions included in the tropical colonies; the lands of the old civilization, as India and Egypt; the lands that have been under civilized influence for some time, as the Philippine Islands and Java, these two differing in that Spain gave more attention to education than Holland did, and the lands where the natives are in varying stages of barbarism, as in New Guinea and parts of Africa. Colonial powers, then, must

adjust the methods of administration to suit the existing stages of civilization in each of these regions. Practically, it becomes a matter of making a solution of each problem for each dependency.[1]

THE SHARE IN THE GOVERNMENT BY THE NATIVES.— The transforming of the native institutions of control into institutions of government on modern ideas by retaining the native head men, chiefs, and princes in control, with a European resident always in real control, is the policy followed very generally in all three different regions. What Cromer said of English control in Egypt, "Egyptian hand but English brain," applies, in some degree, in the tropical and subtropical dependencies of all nations. It is in this way that the native learns self-government, while at the same time, many customs and traditions are retained. By this policy there is a blending of the Western ideas and the Eastern. The Netherlands and England have worked out the most efficient systems on this line. The greatest difficulties experienced are, that the natives are despotic when given power; have little sense of justice; and lack initiative.

In the councils or law-making bodies in the colonies, the tendency is to give the native a share, though the ruling power keeps control. As members of the councils, one weakness of the natives is that they show a tendency to talk a great deal without offering practical plans or suggestions.

Even in the British crown colonies the practice is to give as much of the local law-making as is feasible into the hands of the natives. Tariff legislation is almost entirely in the power of the colonies. France does not permit its colonies to legislate on tariff and in many ways is not so liberal in the local government as England is. In the Philippine Islands, the share given to the people in the law-making body is more liberal than it is in any other tropical colony.

The aim in general, in all the colonies, is to train the

[1] In this chapter only a very brief summary of what is being done with these problems by the leading colonial powers is attempted. To note the work in each colony is beyond the scope of this text.

native for some degree of self-government. Most widely experienced Europeans believe this training to be possible, though in many colonies it will be a long process, but it must not be forgotten that the self-government of the Europeans and of the people of the United States is the product of centuries.

LAND OWNERSHIP.—There are four systems of land ownership, or control, in practice in the colonial territory of the world: The retention of the ownership of land by the governing country; control of the land by chartered companies to which new territory is in some cases temporarily granted for development; ownership of large estates for cultivation and development of agricultural, mineral, and forest resources; small individual holdings by the people.

Retention of the Ownership of Land by the Government.—This system is in operation in the countries of the Orient where the European nations found it in existence when the countries came under their control. These European powers found the system a satisfactory and convenient way of raising revenue, so did not change it.

England found this system of land ownership in India and has continued its use. In some cases, the land is leased permanently to natives with the right of subleasing. In other cases, it is leased for a term of thirty years or less. Some of the land is leased from year to year. In some special cases actual title to the land is given to the holder by the government. Good authorities on the subject maintain that this granting of individual ownership is a mistake. For with the title goes the right to mortgage; the native cannot resist the temptation to raise money in this way, and the result is that the individual holder loses his land to the money-lender. In this case not only does the government lose the rental from this land but as the native has lost his land he receives no benefit. Another thing, far from being beneficial to the country, which results from these individual holdings passing into the hands of the money-lenders is, that a class of rich landholders is being created.

The Dutch found the land in Java owned by the sovereigns, so the policy has been almost the same here as that practiced in India. During the days of the culture system the Dutch were much less liberal in policy than the British. Of late years there is a decided movement toward encouraging individual ownership. To encourage the clearing of the uncultivated regions, private ownership is granted. The same criticism holds good in Java, as in India, about granting the right of private ownership of land to the native. He too often loses his land to the money-lender. Among the restrictions in Java which protects the native landowner somewhat, is the one which will not permit the natives to sell land to the Chinese without permission from the government.

Control of Land by Chartered Companies.—Large areas of land in Africa, Borneo, and New Guinea are to-day controlled by chartered companies. These companies have full control of the selling and leasing of the lands included in their grants, subject to the resident supervisor from the home country. The lands to which title has not been transferred by the company or which are not granted to the company by the government, revert to the government on the transferring of the company's power to the direct control of the mother country.

Ownership of Large Estates.—This system is a relic of the days when slavery flourished. It prevails to a great extent in the West Indies. It is a system that is advantageous for certain products, as sugar, which can be cultivated only with profit in large areas, as the expensive machinery necessary for the industry requires a certainty of a large amount of the crop to warrant its purchase. This has led to the policy of leasing large areas of government land for such purposes to individuals or to corporations for long periods. The Dutch East Indies leased nearly a million acres in 1898, for a term of seventy-five years, to seven hundred and fifty-two individuals or companies.

Individual Ownership.—With the exception of India and Java and the West Indies, the system most generally adopted and believed to be the best for the colony as a whole

and to the native personally, is the ownership of comparatively small holdings by the individual. In the thickly populated tropics the holdings are very small.

As the owner of land has a definite aim and works for a definite reward, individual ownership leads to better cultivation, hence adds to the wealth of the colony. It makes the owner a better citizen as the prosperity and welfare of the country affect his personal welfare. It makes the government more stable, for each owner realizes that stability of government affects his property.

The objection made to the individual small holdings, that some profitable crops demand large areas, can be overcome by the factory system. In this system the owner of the machinery buys, or manufactures on a percentage basis, the products of the small holdings.

The influence of the Dutch laws is in evidence in the colonies of the Union of South Africa. The State is still a landholder of large areas which are leased, but the land may be purchased by individuals, and a homestead law similar to the one existing in the United States, Canada and the Philippine Islands is now in effect. In most of the other colonies in Africa, the land policy is not yet well defined.

REVENUE OF COLONIES: HOW RAISED.—There is a greater variety of opinions on the methods of raising revenue than on any other question pertaining to the administration of colonies. Great Britain requires its dependencies to be self-sustaining financially, and leaves to each, in large measure, the methods by which the revenue is raised. In India, the principal revenue is from the land tax or as it is called the "rent." This word is used because what would seem a heavy tax is a light rent. An average rental of twenty-five per cent of the net revenue is charged. The custom among the native rulers, before British control, was to charge fifty per cent. The principle of Britain, is, in this matter, to secure revenue, but not to make the taxes so heavy as to cause the standard of living to be lowered. Among the several other sources of revenue in India, are opium, salt, and excise taxes, stamps and customs duties.

In Burma the fisheries, which are under government control, yield quite an income to the government. In the Federated Malay States the principal revenue is from the export duty on tin. In the Straits Settlements the two greatest sources of revenue are opium and alcoholic spirits. In general, the principal revenue in the English colonies is from customs. Where there is monopoly or large export of a product, as tin in the Federated States, there is an export tax.

France as a usual thing controls in detail the laws relative to the raising of revenue in its dependencies and contributes from the home government any deficit that may occur. The nation bases the tariff and taxes of its colonies on the system used in France. The colonies may recommend tariff or revenue regulations, but the laws are passed in France. In general, the revenue is raised by tariffs, government monopolies, post-offices, telegraphs, and railroads. In some colonies the local and municipal expenses are paid by taxing all commodities that come to the colony by water.

In addition to the fact that the Dutch colonies, especially Netherlands-India, are self-sustaining, the home country, until recent years, has received from them a revenue. Since the change in the industrial policy in the Dutch dependencies in the East there has been a deficit in these colonies. They derive their principal revenue from the land tax or rental. Other sources are sales of government crops, excise, export and import duties, salt, opium, and income taxes.

In the colonies of the United States, the principal revenue is from customs and excise duties. This is true in the newer colonies of other nations. In some, as the German possessions, direct taxes are sometimes levied.

All colonies, no matter what the form of government is, receive some part of the revenue from customs duties. Internal taxes in colonies are very light when compared with the taxes in countries with independent governments; for example, the taxes of Japan are about ₱16 per capita; Porto Rico, ₱7.40; in the Philippine Islands, ₱3.04 (Millard,

1909). This shows that taxation in colonies is not oppressive. No country asks for revenue or tribute from its colonies. It is only required of the colonies that they pay their own internal expenses and in some cases contribute to the expenditure for defense.

DEFENSE AND POLICE OF COLONIES.—In the smaller colonies the ruling power supplies the military defense, while in the larger, stronger colonies this defense is maintained by the colonies themselves. The naval defense is almost entirely in the hands of the mother country, colonies contributing to its support, though Australia is ambitious to build up an Australian navy and is now planning to carry out this policy.

The larger English colonies, as Canada, maintain their own military defense as do Australia and the Union of South Africa for the most part. In colonies of alien races, a large part of the army is composed of native troops. In India, native troops constitute about half of the army and the expenses of the army are borne by the colony. In the Straits Settlements, about twenty per cent of the revenue is contributed to the defense. The defenses at Singapore were built entirely by the colony, the Imperial Government supplying only the guns and ammunition.

The Dutch colonial army in Netherlands-India is separate from the regular army of the Netherlands and is wholly supported by the colonies.

France contributes a much larger proportion of the troops and of the expenditure in the defense of its dependencies than either Holland or England.

The United States maintains in its colonies garrisons of troops of the regular army. In Hawaii, there is in addition to the garrison, the Hawaiian National Guard. In the Philippine Islands, the Philippine Scouts, composed of natives officered by officers from the Regular Army form a part of the military defense.

The policy in all the colonies that have a well-established government is to maintain public order by a native police force under training and control of officers from the governing power. The Dominion of Canada maintains public

order in its extensive territory by the Mounted Police. In the Philippines there are the Philippine Constabulary and the municipal police.

EDUCATION.[2]—There are in the colonies, government schools, mission schools, and private schools. Many of the two latter receive grants in aid from the government. These grants are given to the Mohammedan schools as well as to the Christian schools. In many of the newer colonies the only schools, practically, are the mission schools.

English Colonies.—In India, there are about 165,473 institutions and about six million pupils. About twenty-six per cent of the boys of school age and four per cent of the girls are in school. Teaching is in the vernacular. No effort is made in the elementary schools to spread the English language. The results, in general, are not satisfactory. Too many students leave school unfit for useful life work in any productive line, and poorly qualified for really good service in any profession, and with much too strong an inclination for clerical positions. In Egypt, Cromer saw this tendency years ago and succeeded in introducing practical industrial work, and in consequence, the educational results in Egypt are more satisfactory in every way than in India. In Ceylon the educational results in general are better than in India. The percentage of population in school is higher and a greater interest is shown. The schools where English is taught are becoming self-supporting, so eager are the natives to learn the language. In the Orange Free State, a self-governing province, out of a population of 387,315, there are 19,000 pupils in the government-aided schools. The protectorate, Basutoland, has several industrial schools and a good enrollment in the government-aided schools. These few statistics from different kinds of colonies in different continents give some idea of the attention that England is giving to the education of the natives in her colonies.

In Netherlands-India or the Dutch Oriental Possessions there was little attention paid to the education of the natives until

[2] The statistics given under this topic were taken, in the main, from the "Statesman's Year-Book" (1911).

about the middle of the last century. In the seventies many schools were opened. Ten years later, a reaction set in against the education of the natives and many of the schools were closed, especially the normal schools. During the past decade the pendulum has been swinging the other way. An excellent system of schools embracing almost every line of training is being established. Each year now sees improvement in the educational opportunities offered the Javanese. One of the best steps taken thus far is the opening of village primary schools. The native schools enroll over 250,000 in the whole of the possessions. This does not include pupils enrolled in the schools for the sons of chiefs, or natives in the European schools, or the pupils in the schools for foreign Orientals.

The Dutch language is again introduced into the schools after its use was prohibited for a quarter of a century. Special schools for the Chinese are provided though many Chinese are in the other schools. No country makes such adequate provision for the education of the children of its colonists as the Dutch do, and in no colonies are the teachers from the home country so liberally compensated as in Netherlands-India.

The French Colonies.—Education in the French colonies in the East has not been pushed with much vigor. Reports show five secondary schools and 596 pupils in Anam; in Cochin China, three hundred and eighty schools and about 19,000 pupils. In the African possessions, Algeria enrolls about 170,000 pupils out of a population of over 5,000,000. In French Kongo there are about 4,000 pupils in the mission schools. In Madagascar, education is compulsory from eight to fourteen years of age. In many of the colonies, France requires that instruction be given in the French language.

In Belgian Kongo the government coöperates with the missions in bringing opportunities for education to the natives, and considering conditions, fair progress is being made. Four agricultural colonies have been established where the native children are collected and taught.

Japan gives much attention to educational matters in its dependencies. In Formosa, there are over 20,000 pupils

in the elementary schools alone. In Korea, good facilities for education in every line are offered, with special attention to the technical and agricultural schools.

The United States.—In incorporated towns in Alaska public schools are established and controlled by an elected local board. The schools are maintained by an apportionment of a percentage of the Federal licenses collected in the district. In smaller settlements there are government schools. The Federal Government maintains a system of separate schools for the Indians. In very recent years industrial work is receiving much attention in these schools. In Hawaii public schools are established in all parts of the islands. There are 153 public schools and 19,507 pupils, also 56 private schools and 5,382 pupils. The language in general use is English. In Porto Rico, in 1899 over eighty-three per cent of the population could not read or write. In that year the public schools were reorganized and education was made compulsory. There are now over 1,417 schools, and 60,287 pupils. Higher institutions of learning are also provided and a system of agricultural schools gives instruction to over a thousand pupils.

In the Philippine Islands[3] in 1910–11, the total number of public schools in operation was 4,404 and out of a population of between seven and eight millions, the total annual enrollment was 610,493 exclusive of the Philippines University and the Agricultural College, and not including the 5,302 enrolled in the Moro Province.[4] The total number of teachers and apprentices employed during the year was 9,086. Of the teachers 8,403 were Filipinos. One of the features of the school work in the Philippines is the emphasis given to industrial training and school farming. The English language is used as the language of instruction in the schools. Education is not compulsory.

In Guam education is compulsory. Pupils are taught in English. Industrial instruction is given.

The policy in general in colonies, is to charge a nominal

[3] Statistics taken from the Report of the Director of Education (1910–11).

[4] The schools of Moro Province are not under the administration of the Bureau of Education.

tuition in the colonial public schools. The colonies administered by the United States are an exception to this general rule. In the colonies of this nation the government schools are free, the system established being based on the same principles as those on which the public school system of United States is founded. It will be noted that no colonial power wholly neglects education in any colony. The fact is also evident that the power that emphasizes education in the home country gives, to-day, the most attention to it in the colonies. Furthermore, the schools in the colonies are receiving the benefit of the active interest in industrial and technical education, which is spreading over the civilized world and claiming the attention of the best thinkers among educators. The past two decades have seen great strides in this branch of school training and in no places are the results of the interest and progress more in evidence than in the educational policies in the colonies. This removes the cause for the deserved criticism that education in the colonies unfits the native for the life work that would be of greatest benefit to him and to his country.

The use of a European language in the instruction given in the schools is growing, as it is being realized that education restricted to the vernacular is too limited to be of value. There is almost no literature in these dialects and no textbooks of merit. The pupil that is not taught in a European language is not fitted for intercourse outside of his own province. Education and commerce will lead to wider colonial intercourse and there must be a common language, in the colony at least. The force of this truth is coming to be recognized by the more intelligent and progressive natives of all the colonies.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT.—The most important thing in the industrial development of a colony is the construction of means of communication and transportation. Industry is thus stimulated because with easy means of transporting his products to market the earning capacity of the native is increased. With the increase of earning capacity comes a greater desire to work, so the building of trails, roads, railroads, and bridges, the improving of the water ways

and harbors, the putting into operation of steamship lines, the establishing of a telegraph and other means of communication, is the first work to be done in the industrial development of a colony. The English lead in this work, though Germany, the United States, and Belgium are giving much attention to improving transportation facilities in their colonies. France is more backward. A French writer on colonial matters recently scored severely his country's policy on colonial industrial development, comparing the Frence colonies in the Orient, in this particular, with those of England.

The following statistics may aid in forming some idea as to the value the powers place on means of communication. In Belgian-Kongo, there are over 50 miles of railroad in use and more than that number of miles under construction; of telegraph lines, 1,083 miles are in operation. Java has over 1,536 miles of railroad and 8,800 miles of telegraph lines. The Federated Malay States, under the comparatively few years (25) of English control, have made great advances in road building, having over 468 miles of railroad, 1,768 miles of good cart roads, 1,672 miles of bridle paths, and 1,401 miles of telegraph lines. The Philippine Islands have 5,406 miles of telegraph line and cable in and between the Islands; there are 530 miles of railroad in operation. To encourage the building of railroads, the United States Congress passed an Act in 1905 authorizing the Philippine Government to guarantee, for thirty years, four per cent interest on bonds issued for railroad construction, the annual liability of the Philippine Government not to exceed 2,400,000 pesos. Under this authority, franchises have been granted to build 819 miles of railway. Bridges and roads are being constructed; there are 4,154 miles of wagon-roads throughout the archipelago, besides many miles of trails. The policy of all nations is that the actual expense of constructing means of communication and transportation shall be borne by the colony.

Another important thing in industrial development is the constructing of irrigation works; areas of great extent

are thus made productive, and crops made sure in other large areas. The expenses of these projects are usually borne by the colony. They are seldom private enterprises.

Agriculture receives much attention, as the colonies are sources of raw materials for the home country, and in most colonies of importance it is the leading industry. Methods of cultivation are improved by the introduction of machinery and the use of fertilizers. Experiment farms are established where valuable work in the testing of crops and seeds is done and the results of the experiments scattered among the agricultural population. Through these farms new agricultural products are introduced; farmers are taught how to select seeds, to destroy pests, to better care for crops in many ways. In fact, every effort is made to teach the native how to secure the greatest returns from his land and for his efforts.

By the introduction of new products and new industries adapted to the colony, variety of production is given and industry is stimulated. The encouragement of private ownership of land, improvement of transportation, and better methods of farming, bring permanent results in the improvement of the industrial condition of the colony.

CAPITAL AND COMMERCE.—Little can be done in industrial development without capital. The greater part of this capital must come either from the mother country or from other countries. This capital is secured by guaranteeing its protection by the maintenance of peace and order in the colony and by establishing confidence in the stability of the government. Only enormous, quick returns will tempt investment of capital where governments are unstable, tottering, and liable to sudden changes. Capital is further secured by encouraging the introduction of new industries, assuring a supply of labor, and fair and just treatment of investors.

The problem of commerce is solved to a great extent when means of transportation are provided and the industries of the colony begin to grow. Growth of industries means increase of production, which means increase of consump-

tion. From this condition arises commerce, both domestic and foreign.

There is one phase of the commerce question that has claimed the special attention of colonial powers, and that is, what part of the commerce of the colony is with the mother country? to what extent does the "trade follow the flag?" The old time policy of forcing the colony to trade with the mother country by harsh restriction laws is no longer practiced. The opinion on the question generally accepted to-day and the policy based upon that opinion in general practice is that the natural intercourse of the colony with the metropolis tends to throw the bulk of the trade of the colony to the markets of the home country. This is further encouraged by free trade between the colony and the mother country. The commodities imported from the home country are sometimes further favored by placing almost prohibitive tariffs in the colonies on similar commodities from other countries. Preferential tariffs of some form are not uncommon. If raw materials sent from the colony to the home country are produced in any quantity in the home country, limitations may be placed on the imports of such commodities by placing a duty upon them or by limiting them as to quantity.

Statistics show that about half of the trade of a colony is with the mother country, but the total commerce of all the colonies is not more than one-tenth of the world's commerce. So it is obvious that from the side of the colonial powers, the colonial trade is of comparatively little importance compared with their trade with other nations, and that colonies are not of great profit, commercially, to the mother country.

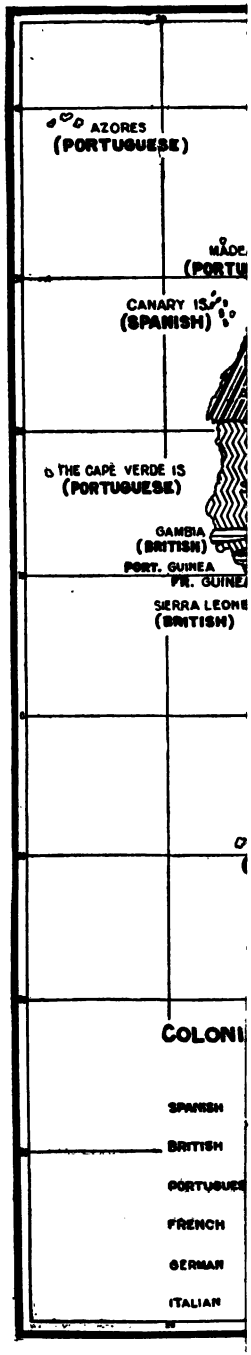
Colonization as it is to-day is a conquest, not by the sword, but by machinery, steam, and electricity. In the northern part of Africa, in Egypt, and in the Orient it is the process of grafting the practical side of twentieth century industry and commerce on the old philosophic culture and civilization of these regions. It is the stirring up in sluggish hearts of the dormant love for fellow men, the

teaching that this love should make the lives of all, not of just a favored few, worth living. It is the teaching of the law of the brotherhood of man as exemplified in humanitarian institutions. It is the teaching that government is power and protection, not despotism and cruelty.

In the partially civilized and in the barbarous islands of the oceans, and in the savage, unused parts of the continent of Africa, colonization is the transplanting of these same methods of useful industry, of these same lessons of better living, and of these same ideas of man's humanity to man; methods, lessons, and ideas that will lead countless human beings to wider lives of more reasonable service.

But twentieth century colonization is made possible by the political authority, the political stability of the colonizing nations. Without this stability of government, without this authority, the industrial methods, the scientific achievements, the altruistic ideas could never accomplish the conquest of new regions or the reconquest of old. Nations could never say to their sons:

> "Clear the land of evil, drive the road, and bridge the ford,
> Make ye sure to each his own,
> That he reap where he hath sown."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